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The Bombay Chronicle

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VOL. XI NO. 303 BOMBAY WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1923. TWO ANNAS.

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The Bombay Chronicle

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The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications unless a stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed for the purpose.

BUSINESS communications of every kind (advertisements, changes of address, etc.) should be addressed to the MANAGER. Advertisements intended for insertion in the next day's paper should reach the Office not later than 9 a.m.

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Half-Yearly	,, 16	,, 18
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P. & O.
AND
BRITISH INDIA.

COMPANIES INCORPORATED IN ENGLAND.

MAIL & PASSENGER SERVICE.

P. AND O. SAILINGS TO PLYMOUTH AND LONDON CALLING AT MARSEILLES.

All Passengers are required to be in possession of passports

Date.	Steamer.		Connecting at Aden with	Tons
29th Dec.	Dongola	..	Mongolia *	16,385
5th Jan.	Mantua †	..		10,902
12th ,,	Kaisar-I-Hind X	..		11,430
19th ,,	Plassy	..		7,303
26th ,,	Dongola	..	Narkunda *	16,227
2nd Feb.	Delta	..		8,097
9th ,,	Macedonia X	..		11,089
16th ,,	Malwa †	..		10,041
23rd ,,	Dongola	..	Moldavia *	16,277
1st March	Mantua	..		10,902
8th ,,	Morea X	..		10,911
15th ,,	Caledonia	..		7,622
22nd ,,	Dongola @	..	Mooltan @	20,700
29th ,,	Kaisar-I-Hind	..		11,430
5th April	Naldera X	..		15,933
9th ,,	Devanha	..	Extrasteamer	8,092
12th ,,	Malwa	..		10,941
19th ,,	Dongola	..	Maloja *	20,700
26th ,,	Macedonia	..		11,089
3rd May.	Plassy	..	China X	7,952
10th ,,	Mantua	..		10,902
17th ,,	Dongola	..	Mongolia *	16,385
24th ,,	Caledonia	..		7,622
31st ,,	Plassy	..	Narkunda *	16,233

X Through steamers from China have limited accommodation for passengers from India.

† Terminate voyage at Marseilles.

@ Does not convey passengers from India

* Through steamers from Australia. Have limited accommodation for passengers from India.

BRITISH INDIA SAILINGS.
Bombay to Port Said and Plymouth.

Date about	Steamer.		Tons.
28th Dec.	Matiana	..	8,966
11th Jan.	Domala	..	8,441
25th ,,	Mashobra	..	8,324
8th Feb.	Kaisarma ‡	..	5,809
22nd ,,	Marwada	..	8,193
7th March	Mandala	..	8,246
21st ,,	Dumana	..	6,600
4th April	Mandla	..	8,303
18th ,,	Matiana	..	8,966
2nd May...	Domala	..	8,441
16th ,,	Mashobra	..	8,324

‡ Cargo vessel only; will not convey passengers

P. & O SAILINGS BOMBAY TO JAPAN VIA COLOMBO, SINGAPORE, HONGKONG AND SHANGHAI.

28th Dec	Morea	..	10,911
15th January	Soudan †	..	6,696
25th ,,	Naldera	..	15,993
22nd Feb.	China	..	7,952
18th March	Soudan †	..	6,69
24th April	Sicilia †	..	6,813

† Proceeds as far as Shanghai only.

BRITISH INDIA SAILINGS.
TO AFRICA, KARACHI, PERSIAN GULF TUTICORIN, COLOMBO, MADRAS, CALCUTTA AND RANGOON.

Date about	Steamers.		Destination.
28th Dec.	KAROA	..	East & S. Africa. 2 p. m.
27th ,,	BARJORA	..	Bussreh via K'chi & P. Gulf Ports
28th ,,	VARSOVA	..	Bussreh via K'chi.
29th ,,	COLABA	..	Colombo, Madras and Calcutta
29th ,,	CHAKLA	..	Karachi via Kew'r
30th ,,	GAIRSOPPA..		Tuticorin, Colombo and Rangoon
30th ,,	VITA	..	Karachi v. K'war

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Nicol Road, Fort, Bombay
P. O. Box 122

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E. E. O. Box 163.
Telephone No. 1260

SHIPPING.

N. Y. K. LINE
REGULAR SERVICE to JAPAN via SINGAPORE, HONGKONG and SHANGHAI

Steamer	Commander	Tons	Arrival	Departures.
Wakasa Maru	K. Horikawa	9,88	16 Dec.	1 Jan.
Baron Cawdor	I. Baillie	5864	19 Dec.	30 Dec
Lima Maru	J. Koshikawa	7250	28 Dec	17 Jan.
Penang Maru	H. Habaki	5214	3 Jan	17 Jan.
Yomei Maru	....	7151	11th Jan	23rd Jan.
Tamba Maru	N. Wada.	5845	14th Jan	28th Jan.

REVISED PASSAGE FARES

For:—Class	1st Class	2nd Class	European Steerage	3rd Class with food	3rd Class without food
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Singapore	320	210	158	105	84
Hongkong	450	270	205	135	108
Shanghai	540	320	240	160	128
Kobe	610	360	265	180	143

For revised passage tariff apply to:—
NIPPON YUSEN KAISHA,
Alexandria Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
Telephone No. 576. Telegrams "YUSEN"

BANKING.

BANK OF BARODA, LD.
Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar.
(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897.)

Capital Subscribed Rs. 60,00,000
Capital Called-up Rs. 29,98,639
Reserve Fund Rs. 19,50,000

HEAD OFFICE:
Mandvi, Baroda.
BRANCHES:
Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Navsari, Meshana, Surat, Bombay, Jambusar, Pedad, Patan and Amreli.
DIRECTORS:
The Hon'ble Lalubhai Samaldas, C. I. E., (Chairman.)
Gangadhar R. Nimbalkar, Esq., B. A., (Sar Subha, Baroda State.)
Rai Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti (Nagar Sheth, Baroda.)
Sheth Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)
Bhaskarrao V. Mehta, Esq., M.A., LL.B., (Bhavnagar.)
Maganlal H. Kantavala, Esq., M. A. (Agent, The Maharaja Mills Co. Ltd., Baroda.)
Raoji Raghunath Shirgaokar, Esq., B.A., LL.B., (Subha, Baroda State.)
Anant Narayan Datar, Esq., (Accountant-General, Baroda State.)
CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.
Interest allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of Rs. 2½ per cent per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 3 per half year will be allowed.
FIXED DEPOSITS.
Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.
LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.
The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.
The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all description of Stock at moderate charges, particulars of which may be learnt on application.
SAVINGS BANK.
Deposits received and interest allowed at 4 per cent per annum.
SAVINGS BANK DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.
Sums of Rs. 300 and over accepted at 4½ per cent by transfers from Savings Bank accounts subject to three months' Notice of withdrawal. Rules on application.
C. B. RANDLE,
General Manager.

THE BANK OF INDIA, LD.
ESTABLISHED 7TH SEPTEMBER, 1906
(Incorporated under the Indian Companies Act VII of 1882.)
HEAD OFFICE:
ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.
Branch ..... Ahmedabad
LONDON AGENTS:
THE WESTMINSTER BANK, LTD.
CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ..... Rs. 1,00,00,000
RESERVE FUND ..... Rs. 72,50,000
CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.
Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 AT THE RATE OF 2½ PER CENT. PER ANNUM THROUGHOUT THE YEAR. Sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 accepted by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 3 per half year.
FIXED DEPOSITS.
Deposits are received fixed for one year or for shorter period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.
SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNTS opened on favourable terms. Rules on application.
A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

BANKING.

THE EASTERN BANK, LTD.
(Incorporated in England.)
HEAD OFFICE:
4, Crosby Square, London, E. C. 3.
BRANCHES:

Amara	Colombo
Baghdad	Hillah
Bahrein	Karachi
Basrah	Madras
Bombay	Mosul
Calcutta	

Authorised Capital £2,000,000
Paid-up Capital £1,000,000
Reserve Fund ..... £ 500,000
Reserve Liability of Shareholders £1,000,000
BOARD OF DIRECTORS:
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Sir J. Legh-Wood, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., Deputy Chairman.
Sir Percy Wilson Newson, Bart.
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Sir Dinshaw Maneckjee Petit, Bart.
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BOMBAY BRANCH.
Corner of Hornby Road and Churchgate Street.
INTEREST will be allowed on Fixed Deposits for one or two years at rates to be ascertained on application.
CURRENT ACCOUNTS opened and Fixed Deposits received for shorter periods on terms to be ascertained on application.
INTEREST allowed on Current Deposit Accounts at 4 per cent. per annum, unless the Rules may be altered on application.
BILLS OF EXCHANGE purchased.
Credits granted on approved security and every description of Banking and Exchange business undertaken. Purchase and sale of British and Foreign securities effected on usual terms.
L. F. TUCKER,
Manager.

THE UNION BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED.
SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL ... Rs. 1,19,70,000
PAID-UP CAPITAL ... Rs. 59,85,000
(29-9-23).
CURRENT ACCOUNTS:—
Interest allowed at
2 per cent per annum from January to June.
2½ per cent per annum from July to December.
FIXED AND SHORT DEPOSITS received. Rates to be ascertained on application.
Every description of Banking Business Transacted.
Managing Agents:—
THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA LTD.

THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK, LIMITED.
(REGISTERED IN JAPAN.)
(ESTABLISHED 1880.)
Subscribed Capital ..... Yen 100,000,000
Paid-up Capital ..... Yen 100,000,000
Reserve Fund ..... Yen 73,000,000
HEAD OFFICE: YOKOHAMA
BRANCHES:

Batavia	Kobe	Saigon
Bombay	London	San Francisco
Buenos Aires	Los Angeles	Seattle
Calcutta	Lyons	Shanghai
Changchun	Manila	Singapore
Dairen	Nagasaki	Shimonoseki
Fengtien	Newchwang	Surabaya
Hamburg	New York	Sydney
Hankow	Nagoya	Tientsin
Harbin	Osaka	Tokyo
Hongkong	Peking	Tsinan
Honolulu	Rangoon	Tsingtau
Kai Yuan	Rio de Janeiro	Vladivostock

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS are opened for approved customers and interest is allowed at the rate of two per cent. per annum on daily balances of not less than Rs. 1,000 provided that the amount of half-yearly interest is not less than Rs. 5.
FIXED DEPOSITS are received for one year or shorter period on terms which may be ascertained on application.
Every description of BANKING and EXCHANGE business transacted.
H. YAMAZAKI,
Manager
Hornby Road, Bombay.
Post Box No. 297.

BANKING.

THE PUNJAB NATIONAL BANK, LIMITED.
ESTABLISHED 1895.

Capital Authorised	.....	1,00,00,000
Capital Issued	.....	50,00,000
Capital Subscribed	.....	50,00,000
Capital Paid-up	.....	27,27,727
Reserve Fund	.....	21,00,400

HEAD OFFICE: LAHORE.

Amritsar	Hafizabad	Multan City
Ambala City	Hoshiarpur	Montgomery
Ambala Cant	Hyderabad (Sind)	Okara (Dist. Montgomery)
Bombay	Jullundur	Peshawar City
Calcutta	Jammu	Patiala
Delhi	Jhelum City	Quetta
D. I. Khan	Karachi	Rawalpindi
Ferozepore	Kasur	Sargodha
Gujranwalla	Lahore City	Sialkot
Gojra	Lyallpur	Srinagar
Hapur	Ludhiana	

CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened and interest allowed at 3per cent. from January to June and 2½ per cent. from July to December at Bombay on a minimum daily balance of Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00 000.
FIXED DEPOSITS are received for 12 months and shorter periods at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.
SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.—Sums as low as Rs. 5 received and interest allowed at 4½ per cent. pent annum.
LOANS, OVERDRAFTS and CASH CREDITS.—The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved securities.
CHEQUES HUNDIS, BILLS, etc. of outstations are bought, collected and discounted.
For other particulars and rules of business apply to—
DES RAJ MEHRA,
Manager.

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J. C. BOSE,
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A RAUJO FERNANDES & CO.
MERCHANT TAILORS,
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Diseases any kind Cataract, Glaucoma, Irritis Stye, Watery Eye, Corneal, Ulcer Redness, etc., by our LOTUS HONEY, best remedy of nature, 1 dram Rs. 2-8 2 drams Rs. 4, Postage extra. Ask for free particulars to—
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RENOWNED PATENT.
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ROYAL YAKUTI
This Yakuti or life-giving nectar has been prepared from the best, choicest and richest vegetable drugs. This valuable medicine is used in large quantities not only by our Rajas, Maharajahs, Nawabs, and many of the nobility, aristocracy and gentry in this country, but it is greatly patronized by people in all countries of Europe, America, Asia and Africa. It is needless to expatiate upon the magical qualities of this our invaluable medicine. We recommend it especially to those persons who desire to tone the nervous system, to strengthen the body, refresh the memory and to guard against debility. Suffice it to say that the use of this medicine is recommended to those who have any faith in the Ayurvedic medicines. It works like a charm and the effect is lasting. It replaces lost power and rejuvenates the emaciated and it is enough to say that much is not that which a perfumer admires. It is that which diffuses fragrance of its own accord. Price per tin containing 60 pills Rupees Ten only. Dr. KALIDAS MOOKERJEE, Jetpur (Kathiawar), India.

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Readers' Private Short Advertisements are inserted in these columns at the following rates:—

FIRST 20 WORDS—ONE RUPEE.

Every additional word—One Anna.

CASH MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER.

The full name and address of the advertiser is required, not necessarily for publication.

Advertisers who do not wish their names and addresses published will be given a Box number. The words "apply Box No. ——— Advertisement Department, "Bombay Chronicle" to be paid for.

Replies to advertisements cannot be forwarded, but can be obtained at the office on production of the voucher.

Answers to advertisements should be addressed as follows:—Box Number ..... Advertisement Department, "Bombay Chronicle" Office, Bombay.

Unclaimed replies to advertisements are destroyed after one month.

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WANTED—Experienced DRAFTSMEN and TRACERS. Box No. 9947, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Chronicle."
A 18478

WANTED—For an Indenting Agent's Firm one experienced SHORTHAND-TYPIST. Apply personally C. J. DAVE, Lila Mala, 2nd floor, Chakla Street, Bombay.
A9323

WANTED—A LINO-TYPE OPERATOR capable of acting as a Mechanic also. Apply P. O. Box No. 609, Bombay.
A 18467

WANTED—A SHORTHAND TYPIST, permanent post if work satisfactory. Madrasee preferred. Apply to LUKMANJI EBRAHIMJI, 179 Magdevi Street.
A R9276

WANTED—Hindu MOTOR-DRIVER with the knowledge of mechanism who can drive all cars. Pay Rs. 40 to 60 according to qualifications. Apply personally MEGHJI VALABHDASS, Ghatkoper, Valabh Baugh.
A R9310

WANTED—A FIRST CLASS MECHANICAL ENGINEER for a Local Mill Apply with testimonials to Box No. 9938, Advt. Dept., "Bombay Chronicle."
A 18437

WANTED—A TRANSLATOR for two hours daily to translate from English or Hindustani into Gujarathi or Marathi or personally to the MANAGER, AMRITDHARA, Sirdar Graha Hotel, Bombay.
A

WANTED—AGENTS for the renowned panacea Amritdhara having extensive sale. Settle personally at Sirdar Graha Hotel, Bombay or write direct to AMRITDHARA PHARMACY LAHORE.
A

WANTED—An ENGINEER to erect and start Tangyes second-hand Crude Oil Engine in Khandesh immediately. Apply BABAN GOKHALAY, Opera House, Tram Terminus, Girgaum.
A

NOCO BOOK-POLISH.—Absolutely indispensible to lawyers, students, libraries and record offices.—WANTED AGENTS throughout India.—YOGENDRA & CO., Bulsar.
A R9185

WANTED—CHIEF AGENTS, AGENT and CANVASSERS for an Insurance Company, on pay, commission or both according to guarantee of business. Apply to SECRETARIES, ALL INDIA UNITED INSURANCE CO. LTD., 72, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.
A 18337

WANTED—A Smart CLEARING and FORWARDING ASSISTANT CLERK (Hindu) thoroughly up in customs and shipping in all lines. Salary rupees sixty only p.m. Apply with copies of testimonials to Box No. 9948, Advt. Dept., 'Bombay Chronicle."
A 9307

WANTED—YOUTHS desirous of joining service immediately to see Manager, STANDARD TYPEWRITER CO., at 459/261, Hornby Road opp. Messrs. Cox and Co., to learn Pitman's Phonetic Shorthand and Typewriting by Touch System (Blind) at exceptionally moderate rates. Individual coaching until successful. Limited accommodation in Shorthand Speed Class. Success Guaranteed. Join to-day. Enrolment daily.

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TO BE LET—Locked MOTOR GARAGES Rs. 30 per month, also GODOWNS and SHEDS, very useful for storage or work-shops. Also a part of SHOW ROOM THE INDIAN AUTOMOBILE CO., LTD., Lamington Road, (off Jacob Circle), Bombay.
C R9153

TO LET—A BUNGALOW at Virle Parle, two minutes' walk from Station with best accommodation garden and well. See HAKIMJI AMIJI, Dhobi Galli, Zakaria Masjid, Phone No. 2654.
C R9303

HOUSES & FLATS TO LET

TO LET—For Vegetarian Hindus at Alawia Building, Block No. B. C. opp. Ilyas Mills, Tardeo. Apply within.
C R9274

TO BE LET—In a building, nearing completion at the junction of Bapty Road, and Duncan Road, three spacious BLOCKS on ground floor, specially suitable for showrooms, restaurants and stores, etc., and such similar nine offices on first, second and third floors, suitable for clubs, offices, boarding-houses and hotels, etc. All necessary constructional conveniences made to our expense. For particulars apply personally to MEGHJI VALABHDASS, Vallabh Bag, Ghatkoper.
C R9258

SPORTS.

THE NAUTILUS RACE TIPS.

BY CAPT. NEMO, RACING EXPERT.

For to-day's Race 3 Winners and 3 separate Places cent per cent guaranteed for Rs. 5.

Apply sharp from 10-30 a. m. to 1 p.m. address 11, Ropewalk Street, next to Temple Bar, Fort.
S R9315

PHOTOGRAPHY.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

Photographs of general interest are invited from readers from all parts of India for publication in the "Sunday Chronicle." Preference will be given to topical photographs on subjects of political, general, engineering, and scientific interest. Accepted photographs will be paid for at usual rates.

All photographs must be sent to the

EDITOR,

Sunday Chronicle.

MACHINERY, TOOLS, ETC.

WANTED—OIL ENGINE and MORTAR MILL in running order. Apply sharp MEGHJI VALABHDASS, Valabh Baugh, Ghatkoper. (Tele. No. 9821).
P R9311

FOR SALE—One Double Demi Cylinder PRINTING MACHINE without flyers. c/o. P. O. Box No. 609, Bombay.
K 18466

EDUCATIONAL.

THE KALKADEVI SHORTHAND AND TYPEWRITING INSTITUTION—Established 1898.—The most successful and therefore the best. Testimonials from Members of Parliament and other Europeans, etc., etc., Subjects, Book-keeping and Accountancy Typewriting, Shorthand and Shorthand Speed Classes and all other commercial subjects. Special arrangement for Ladies. Managing Proprietor GOPALDAS LALDAS, Princess Street, corner Kalkadevi Road, Bombay.

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R9092

TRADE ANNOUNCEMENTS.

HEN EGG'S HALWA—Royal Tonic food for Winter Season. A positive necessity to all. Excellent in taste and flavour. 1st class Re 15, 2nd class Rs. 10 per seer. Expenses extra. Price strictly in advance. NOMANI & CO., No. 27, Shah Supan Street, Darbhanga.
T 18311

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T R9571

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"LOTUS" BRAND
PORTLAND CEMENT.

(Guaranteed Over British Standard Specification Revised 1920.)

THE above is now available for immediate delivery ex. our Bombay godown at a rate which will compare favourably with prices quoted for other brands. Exhaustive tests were carried out on "LOTUS" Brand Portland Cement before we placed same on the market and we have no hesitation in stating that same is in every respect equal to any other Brand of Portland cement on the market. Test certificates and samples for test purposes gladly supplied on request.

The Jubbulpore Portland Cement Co., Ltd.,
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Agents.
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Tel. No. 418.
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ARE YOU DOWN WITH
Malarial Fever
EVERY NOW and AGAIN?
There is a mighty good way open RIGHT NOW to be rid of the demon.
"Neocuro"
is the reliable GERMAN REMEDY for you.
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Shirkey Bldgs., Hornby Road, BOMBAY.
(Adjoining Evans Fraser and Co.,)
Wanted:—SUB-AGENTS.

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Ribbons, Carbons, Brushes, Pads, Papers, Reliable Repairs to all Typewriters.
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(In Voluntary Liquidation.)

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PUBLIC NOTICES.

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This cement has been recognised to be the **best cement all over, being far above the British Standard Specification** and is superior to other Indian Brands and imported cement. Regularly supplied to Government. The Superintendent, Government Test House, Alipore, has certified this cement to be best. Apply for further particulars and our Booklet to

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DAILY AT 6-30 AND 10 p. m.
LADY DIANA MANNERS
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"THE VIRGIN QUEEN"

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To-day at 4-30, 6-30, 8-15 & 10 p. m.
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Featuring Rudolph Valentino.

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"LADY GODIVA"
The Great European Classic.

Under the Patronage of the Gaikwar of Baroda
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Special for X' Mas Holiday
Wednesday 26th Dec. 1923 at 2-30 p. m. noon (S. T.)
SAUBHADRA
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present
To-night and during this week
Second Instalment
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Here is a picture, which every true Hindu should see.
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"PATNI PRATAP"
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Audience of every character will enjoy this picture. It's filled with Suspense, surprise, thrill and love interest.
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Daily 5-15, 7 8-45, & 10-30 P. M.
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ALWAYS A GOOD SHOW.

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Private formulas rendered in plain or sugar-coated tablet form, at reasonable rate.
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An unusually powerful and intensely human photo-drama!
TO-NIGHT! THIS XMAS WEEK!
A Truly Big Picture
"What's Your Reputation Worth?"
Starring the Charming
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in
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The strange story of a girl so impressed by a weird dream that she made it come true. This girl gave her reputation to the man she loved in order that he might find happiness. She had a hard struggle and went through many unusual adventures before she found happiness.

MASSIVE SETS, WINTER SPORTS, BEAUTIFUL SCENES AND INTENSELY HUMAN STORY ARE SOME OF HIGHLIGHTS OF PRODUCTION—A BIG PICTURE.

The best dressed woman of the screen scores another triumph and wears numerous gowns, each of which was designed especially for her wear in this production. A story of life in its many phases as seen in city and town to-day—It might be your own life history—or that of your neighbour.
The Story of a young girl who Sacrifices everything in order to make others happy.

"What's Your Reputation Worth?"

The Story is one of unusual merit and requires an exceptionally large cast and many spectacular sets. It furnishes Miss Griffith a vehicle in which she may wear evening gowns, sporting gowns and more moderate frocks such as are worn by the working girl. The production also furnishes the star with opportunities to display her skill and grace in athletic sports.
The *Programme* includes a 2-Reel Vitagraph Comedy, featuring
Larry Semon
To-Night: 5-30, 7, 8-45 and 10-30 p.m. (S.T.)
WEST-END CINEMA
(NEW CHURNEY ROAD).

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"TWO LITTLE URCHINS"
TO-DAY 3-30; 5-15; 7; 8-45 and 10-30 p.m. (S.T.)
TO-DAY—WEDNESDAY 26th—Episodes 4 5 and 6.
TO-MORROW—THURSDAY 27th—Episodes 7-8 and 9.
FRIDAY 28th—Episodes 10-11 and 12.
NOVELTY CINEMA
(GRANT ROAD, TRAM TERMINUS.)

Mr. Ganpatrao Bodas
WILL ACT IN BOTH THE PERFORMANCES
During the CHRISTMAS WEEK:
(UNDER PUBLIC PATRONAGE)
Lalitkaladarsha Sangit Natak Company:
FOUNDED BY THE LATE MR. KESHAVRAO BHONSLE
PRESENTS
ONLY TWO PERFORMANCES OF
MANAPMAN
(BY K. P. KHADILKAR)
Dhairyadhar—Mr. Pendharkar; Laxmidhar—Mr. Bodas; Bhamini—Mr. Chapekar
on THURSDAY the 27th December 1923 at (noon) 3 P. M.
IN THE
BALLIWALA GRAND THEATRE
Plan is open and Tickets can be purchased at the New Imperial Theatre (Novelty Cinema,) Grant Road Tram Terminus) DAILY from 8 A.M. to 11 A.M. and 3 P.M. to 8 P.M.
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ONLY FOR 15 DAYS.
Circus! To-Night!! Circus!!!
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GOWALIA TANK ROAD,
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30 Continental Star Artistes 30
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Several well trained wild animals
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A QUARREL-GAME OF NARAD
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EXTRA ORDINARY EXPENSIVE NGAGEMENT of ELMO and ELMA

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Consisting of 13 people including 2 Ladies most famous acrobats STARS of the India's Arenas.

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MALABAR TRIO the most dangerous feats on Horizontal Bars.

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A marvellous High grade Human-like acting Dog.

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60 Performing Animals 60

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The Trained wild Animal-Exhibit by—

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with his Assistants Kera and Kondia marvellous Performances and many New astonishing novelties. You Should See this Great Show and get the greatest Return for your money.

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Grand Opening Night

Saturday 29th Dec. 1923

AT 9-30 P. M.

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Popular Prices including the Amusement taxes.

Box Single	5—10—0	2nd Class	2—4—0
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Prof. SHANKER RAO. Sole Proprietor.

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'Mellin's' has suited her admirably

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So the mother of this happy little one-year-old girl writes from 'The Croft,' Lahore. Mellin's Food is admirable and successful for children of all ages, because when prepared as directed, it provides the proper substitute for mother's milk in the tropics.

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Every mother should read "The Care of Infants in India," sent FREE

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A rare opportunity to the money people to buy a bungalow at Peddar Road.

Auction sale of very valuable bungalow known as "Bostan" at Peddar Road and very valuable and artistic household furniture by John Robert, Deoji Kanji, Wimbridge and other well-known makers, in the same bungalow.

Under instructions from Messrs. Ardesir Hormasji Dinshaw and Co., Attorneys for Bai Maneckbai Jehangir Gazder and others, the Mortgagee and on account and at the risk of the Mortgagor Moosabhoy Jafferbhoy an insolvent, Messrs. CRAWFORD & CO. will sell by Public Auction in THURSDAY, the 31st January 1924 at 4-30 p.m. (S.T.) on the premises, the very valuable property and the household furniture mentioned below.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY.

All that piece of land of the Pension and Tax (redeemed) tenure admeasuring 3852 square yards or thereabouts and forming part of a larger piece land registered in the books of the Collector of Land Revenue under Collector Old No. 17, 309, 434, 381 and 616 Collector's New No. 88, 2094, 2316, 2259 and 2861 Old Survey Nos. 81 and 8148 and New Survey Nos. 7116, 7117, 2/7118, 7109 and 7119 and Cadastral Survey No. 722 with the messuage tenements or dwelling houses standing thereon called Bostan assessed by the Municipality under (D) Ward Nos. 3455, 3451, 3456, (1) and 3466 (1) and Street Nos. 9, 6 and 11 Altamount Road and 53 and 55 Peddar Road all which premises are situate at on the Eastern side of Peddar Road, in the City and registration District of Bombay and are bounded on or towards the East by the property of Narandas Vallabhdas Dossa on or towards the West partly by the property of late Mr. Dhanjishaw Captain and partly by the Peddar Road aforesaid on or towards the North by a proposed road and on or towards the South partly by the property of Rahimbhoy Valli Mahomed and partly by the property of late Mr. Dhanjishaw Captain.

AND

Also the very valuable and artistic household furniture by John Robert, Wimbridge, Deoji Kanji and other well-known makers sliding dining table, mirror back full size sideboards, dumbwaiters, dinner waggons Chesterfield sifas and chairs, dressing tables single and double bedsteads, almyrahs wardrobes, arm and armless chairs, marble top tables, table ornaments, silver show cases, velvet and plush lined drawing room suites, cabinets, gramophones with records mahogonized bedroom furniture, dressing chest of drawers, dressing and wash hand tables cloth and gomn presses, writing tables, glass door book cases, rich cut glass electric chandeliers table lamps, lights, celing and table fans etc. etc.

For further particulars and conditions of sale apply to Messrs. Ardesir Hormasji Dinshaw and Co., Solicitors, at their office at 113 Esplanade Road, Fort, or the undersigned.

CRAWFORD & CO.,

Auctioneers.

Bombay, 26th December 1923.

SORABJEE COWASJEE & CO.

AUCTIONEERS & COMMISSION AGENTS.

123, Medows Street, Fort, Bombay.

Tel. No. 2736.

IMPORTANT TO MILL STORE SUPPLIERS AND DEALERS IN LUBRICATING OILS.

SALE OF LUBRICATING OILS.

Messrs. SORABJEE COWASJEE AND CO., Auctioneers, will on FRIDAY, the 28th instant at 3 p.m. (S.T.) sell by Public Auction, by order of Messrs Chutturbhuj Lunidram & Co., the Mortgagees in Possession, and on account and at the risk of Mr. Nanalal Morarji Dave, the Mortgagor, the following lot of different kinds of Lubricating Oils at the Godown of the said Mortgagor at Argyle Road, opposite Princes Docks:—

A large quantity cases of Motor Oil marked "A", lose Motor Oil Tins, Heavy Machinery Oil Casks bearing No. 1338, Motor Oil for Air Craft, Mobil Oil, Jupiter Oil Square Tins marked "S" "P," and "E" a quantity of assorted Oil tins, and a lot of Empty Casks and Tins, a bundle of rope, etc.

A deposit of 25 per cent. will be required at the time of knocking the lot to the names of the buyers and the balance shall be paid and goods taken delivery of within three days of the sale.

SORABJEE COWASJEE & CO.,

Auctioneers.

(Continued from column 4.)

tual to murder men for a crust of bread, and in which women would only be safe while armed men protected them. Therefore, whoever sets to work to inaugurate Mass Civil Disobedience in India is undertaking a fearful responsibility. A condition of lawless violence is not one out of which India could reap any advantage.

I hope, therefore, that the leaders of the Punjab, Bengal and other provinces will pause and reflect before taking the final desperate step. The Congress is to meet in two or three days at Cocanada, for the final consideration of all important questions agitating the country. The whole of India would pray that the leaders who would meet on the momentous occasion might be endowed with the gift to visualize all the potential results of any hasty and ill-considered decision on their part. They should refrain from setting a spark to the powder magazine. The better thing for them to do would be to take effective measures to complete the constructive programme laid down by Mahatma Gandhiji before his incarceration and, in the meantime to suffer patiently and heroically all the wrongs that may be heaped upon an unarmed people by a frenzied Government.

Reculer pour mieux sauter.—Yours, etc.,

MANEKJI PATEL.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

DR. KITCHLEW'S SUGGESTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—As a Congressman of more than thirty years' standing, and a staunch but Independent Nationalist, I yield to no Indian in patriotic fervour and burning zeal for the political emancipation of India, which I am proud to call my Mother-country, but I am not prepared to admit that Civil Disobedience is a panacea for all the evils we suffer under or that it would lead us to our ultimate goal of Swaraj. I was, therefore, exceedingly sorry to read in last Saturday's issue of your paper a short report of the speech made by Dr. Kitchlew, at a public meeting held at the Marwadi Vidyalaya, to protest against the Borsad impost, in which he strongly advocated the necessity of urging the Cocanada Congress to pass a resolution in favour of Civil Disobedience. If the Congress yields to the importunities of Dr. Kitchlew and others who share his opinion and adopts the resolution in question, it would prove a suicidal step, the disastrous consequences of which no man could foresee. Fortunately another Punjabi leader of far greater renown, and also, it must be admitted, of far greater abilities and experience, than Dr. Kitchlew, I mean Lala Lajpatrai, has already sounded the trumpet of warning against Civil Disobedience. Thus two Punjabi leaders of note hold diametrically opposite views on the delicate question and it is sincerely to be trusted that the Cocanada Congress will deliberate on the subject with that calmness and seriousness which the importance of the question demands.

Mass Civil Disobedience which is recommended by some of the more enthusiastic and over-zealous patriots of the Punjab and Bengal, as a remedy for all the evils under which this country has been groaning for ages past is not practically feasible at the present moment. Even Deshbandhu Das in an interview with a representative of your paper, reported in your issue of Monday last, has emphatically said that the country is not yet prepared for Civil Disobedience. There cannot be the slightest doubt that at present at least Mass Civil Disobedience cannot be inaugurated with any chance of success among a people who are unarmed and ignorant of the scientific methods of warfare, unless the whole country is of one mind. No doubt, even under the present conditions in India, it is possible to feel the inspiration of the essential spirit of Civil Disobedience, the spirit of creative hope seeking to destroy with one fell swoop the incumbrances of injustice and tyranny which obstruct the growth of Indian Nationalism. This hope has helped the best of the Nationalists and Non-co-operators to bear the harsh treatment that has been meted out to them by the dominant race. The hope is not fanciful, but it can only be realized through a more objective study of facts and a more patient and longer propaganda to make the necessity of Mass Civil Disobedience obvious to the understanding of thirty crores of Indians. The attitude of uncompromising heroism is always very attractive and appeals most powerfully to the dramatic instinct latent in almost every human being. But the object to be aimed at by every true and sincere Nationalist is not personal heroism, nor personal martyrdom, but the creation of a new and more prosperous India capable of feeding its whole population. Those who have the welfare of their country at heart will not give countenance to measures however attractive, which are likely to result in anarchy and chaos and involve the whole country in one common ruin. It is by means of less attractive but more efficacious methods that India may be emancipated. It is by means of the completion of the constructive programme, by proletarian training in technique and business administration and by a thorough propaganda of ideas rather than tactics especially among the masses, that we may hope to achieve our ultimate goal of Swaraj. To charge with cowardice and apathy those who urge these considerations is mere sentimental self-indulgence.

It is true that the poor illiterate villagers of the Borsad Taluka have been subjected to a species of tyranny which is well-nigh unbearable and naturally some of the Nationalist leaders, like Dr. Kitchlew, have grown impatient and desire to retaliate by inaugurating Civil Disobedience. But evidently they do not seem to have counted the cost and considered the question of the means of Civil Resistance on the part of an unarmed people against a Government armed and equipped with the latest and the most up-to-date weapons of destruction. There could be only one result of such an unequal struggle, namely, wholesale destruction of innocent people as at Jalianwala. I would, therefore, counsel caution and patience to the leaders of the Nationalist Party. It might perhaps be argued that the people require no arms either for offensive or defensive purposes as the Civil Disobedience that is intended to be practised would be of a non-violent character. Those who talk in this fashion forget the essential fact that there will be two to play this game and however non-violent the people may be under the gravest provocation, an eventuality which is in itself somewhat doubtful, the other side will not be bound to follow their example and may be guilty of the most indescribable outrages and we might have a hundred Jallianwallas all over the country with anarchy, famine and pestilence in their train. In short, India might become the second edition of revolutionary Russia with all the horrors recently witnessed in that unfortunate country, multiplied a hundredfold. Abandonment of law, when it becomes widespread lets loose the wild beast in man, and gives a free rein to the primitive lusts and egoisms which civilisation in some degree curbs. A deliberate disrespect for law and constitutional Government, might produce a state of affairs in which it would be habi-

(Continued in Column 3.)

AHMEDABAD MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—Your Ahmedabad correspondent, in his letter, dated 13th December 1923, and printed in the issue of 17th December 1923, makes some personal attacks on me and I should take this opportunity to clear my position.

He says that "Professor Swaminarayan was put on the selection committee with his approval and in his speech he generally approved of and supported the programme." The former portion of the above statement is correct but the latter is far from the truth. At that time the Council elections were just over and we all felt that future work would proceed along lines of hearty co-operation between the majority and minority sections of the Congress and I willingly consented to serve on the selection committee but in my speech I had distinctly laid emphasis on the inclusion of the item of the boycott of British goods which was purposely omitted in the manifesto of the city Congress Committee and I had also pointed out the necessity of changing the future plan of campaign in the educational struggle and adopt methods consonant with the capacity and strength of the people. This was on the 15th of November 1923. There was the same spirit of hearty co-operation displayed when the Swarajya Party resolved at its Broach meeting to request the Congress Committees to capture the municapilities and local boards whenever an occasion would arise. We did know that a similar resolution was negatived by the All-India Congress Committee at Gaya, though it was strongly recommended by the Civil Disobedience Committee. The capture of municipalities and local boards was, however, included as a main plank in the programme of the Swarajya Party in its Allahabad Manifesto, dated 20th February 1923. But thinking that the work would be best done by the combination of the Congress Committees and Swarajya Party branches, we passed a resolution to that effect in Broach. But while an atmosphere of good will was being created at Broach, a plot was hatching in the Sabarmati Ashrama where No-chengers had assembled on the 25th of November 1923. Mr. Rajagopalachariar who had raised the cry of "Back to Nagpur" at Bijapur reiterated the same at Ahmedabad and the spectre of going back on the Delhi compromise was raised with all its hideousness. The elections to the All-India Congress Committee in various provinces were manipulated in such a way as to exclude Swarajists and this has created a just apprehension in the minds of many people that again a campaign of calumny against the Councils and the Swarajists would be the order of the day once more. The Borsad speech of Shriyut Vallabhbhai Patel began with a very severe invective against the Councils and the people who entered them. All this was ominous and a vision of future crippling of the Congress Organisation by the revival of the same old bickerings appeared on the scene. The spirit of exclusion that had actuated the affairs of the Town Congress Committee during the last two years had not died. There was no change of heart. The very fact that the Town Congress Committee did neither consult any one of the three local successful Swarajya Party candidates while preparing the draft nor include the name of any one of them in the selection committee in the beginning, clearly demonstrates the spirit of exclusion, reigning supreme in the affairs of the committee. My name was afterwards inserted on the insistence of the public in the meeting of November 15th. One of the sections of the manifesto of the City Congress Committee was so constructed as to take away the freedom of the individual even to stand as an independent candidate in the ensuing election if his application was rejected by the selection committee and this was severely criticized in the local Press as betraying a spirit of denial of democracy and as a consequence many self-respecting citizens who had equally suffered in the cause of non-co-operation did not apply to the Town Congress Committee. I saw the strength of the objection that was raised and thinking that the cause of the city would improve by a more broad-based formation as in Bombay, I came to the conclusion that I could no longer serve on the committee of selection and tendered my resignation.

Your correspondent further remarks that "he (Professor Swaminarayan) and his Swarajist friends are working in co-operation of moderates in forming the new nationalist party." This is nothing but sheer misrepresentation. On the other hand, the list of municipal candidates nominated by the Town Congress Committee contains the names of certain gentlemen who openly helped Rao Saheb Harilal Desaibhai in the Council Elections. On the other hand the manifesto of the Nationalist Party under our signatures, explicitly excludes the people who served on the committee of management. We have nothing in common with those moderates who allowed themselves to be used as tools by the Government when they disenfranchised Ahmedabad two years ago. We are, still, falsely represented as making an alliance with the moderates. We have included the boycott of British goods as a special item in our programme while the city Congress Committee has deliberately omitted it in spite of the resolution to that effect in the Delhi Congress. On what constitutional principle can the people, who hold the reins of power in the Town Congress Committee, stick fast to their offices and defy the very resolutions of the Congress? Can there be greater hypocrisy than this? We, however, attach special importance to Boycott of British goods.

The matters have not reached such a stage that a compromise between the two parties would be out of question. We are for reasonable compromise if the other party would so wish but if they are obdurate, how can we honestly remain silent and watch the situation with calm resignation when the civic rights of a big and populous city are in danger of being wholly usurped by a clique of politicians representing the No-change section of public thought under the alluring name of the Congress?—Yours, etc.,

JETHALAL CHIMANLAL SWAMINARAYAN.

Ahmedabad, Dec. 21.

SPORTING NEWS

BOMBAY RACES.

FOURTH EXTRA MEETING.

TODAY'S SELECTIONS (BY "SENEX.")

THE VICTORY PLATE.—1¼ Miles.

AQUILEGIA	1
MARGARET JOYCE	2
SCHICHALLION	3

THE LINGFIELD PLATE.—6 Furlongs, 41 Yards.

KASER GIRL	1
HUON RIVER	2
COURIER	3

THE RONS HANDICAP.—1 Mile 1 Furlong.

LADY CLEOPATRA	1
NEAP TIDE	2
BLACKWATER	3

THE LEWES PLATE.—1 Mile.

MOONSHINER	1
TALMA	2
ETHELDENE	3

THE MARINE LINES PLATE.—5 Furlongs.

CENTRY	1
TRADE MARK	2
RESIDENT	3

THE BORIVLI PLATE.—Div. I 6 Furlongs 41 Yards.

WHITE ROSE	1
GREY RENARD	2
LAST CALL	3

THE BORIVLI PLATE Div. II.—6 Furlongs 41 Yards.

ALL CLEAR	1
MASHOOK	2
SYLVANMORE	3

ALL-INDIA WEATHER.

SIMLA, Dec. 25.

The depression over lower Rajputana caused local rain in the United Provinces and Central India East, with a few falls in the west of the Central Provinces and hilled up.

Rain has also fallen nearly general in Orissa and at a few stations in Telasserim and Bengal.

The chief amounts are:—False Point, Jhansi, half an inch, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Meerut, Nowgong, Sangor and Jubbulpore—a quarter of an inch.

The depression in the Bay moved northwards and is slightly more marked.

Forecast:—Increase round the head of the Bay and decrease in the United Provinces and Central India.

SUN, MOON AND TIDES AT BOMBAY.

Day of Week	Day of Month	HIGH WATER. Bombay Mean Time	Depth on Still	Day of Month	LOW WATER. Bombay Mean Time	Depth on Still
	Dec.	h. m.	ft. in.	Dec.	h. m.	ft. in.
W	26	1 3	29 1	26	7 12	19 0
		12 51	29 6		18 47	16 4
Th.	27	1 34	28 11	27	7 48	18 0
		13 30	26 4		19 22	16 10
Tu.	24	0 0	28 5	24	6 3	19 3
		11 38	26 9		17 40	16 0
F.	25	0 32	29 1	25	6 38	19 1
		12 15	26 6		18 12	16 1
Sat.	28	2 9	28 6	28	8 24	19 7
		14 15	26 0		19 58	17 0
S	30	3 27	27 6	30	9 57	18 11
		16 2	25 4		21 37	19 7
M.	31	4 55	27 0	31	11 5	18 3
		17 15	25 3		22 57	20 6

"Sunstar"

3 Winners.

4 out of 5 Places.

XMAS SURPRISES

Call at ORIENT HOTEL on WEDNESDAY, FRIDAY & SATURDAY for Rs. 500 WINNER.

TIPSTER

will have his usual card for

Rs. 10/-

READY ON WEDNESDAY the 26th at 11 a. m.

ALSO

Rs. 50/- Win

AND

Rs. 50/- Quadruple Place

Money returned if horses do not Win and Place.

BE SURE TO GET WEDNESDAY'S CARD IT WILL BE FULL OF GOOD THINGS.

11 A. M. WEDNESDAY

"TIPSTER"

129, Great Western Building, BOMBAY.

FINANCE & ECONOMICS

WEEKLY REVIEW.

SALE OF GOLD.

"BY KRISTODAS."

The speech of the Hon. the Finance Minister at the Conference of the Associated Chambers of Commerce is conceived by the Viceroy downwards amongst Government circles and by the Anglo-Indian Press as a great achievement and as a final and crushing reply to all critics of the Government. Apparently, however, it is not considered in this light by that prickly thorn in the side of the Government of India, the Indian Merchants' Chamber. We find Mr. Devidas Madhowji Thakersey, President of the Indian Chamber, speaking strongly on th sale of gold undertaken by the Government. The Government of India is responsible for many a marvellous circus feat in the field of currency and finance and so, I, for one, am not surprised whenever these circus riders show one more stunt for the merriment of the people. The Bori Bunder supporter of the Government of India writes of reports of responsible Committees appointed by the Congress as likely to give merriment to the world at large. Congress reports have not, unfortunately, got that publicity which steps taken by the Finance Department of the Government of India have and looking at the history of the last three or four years one can easily give the palm to the varied achievements of the Finance Department as having been responsible for giving the greatest merriment to the people of the world, before which the show provided by the Congress pales into insignificance. Mr. Devidas controverts both the arguments on which Sir Basil Blakcett relied in support of his case. Mr. Devidas said as regards the first argument "it is misconceiving the function entirely of such reserve to take away certain portion of it and to play with it for the purpose of making profits, for this can never be the object of the Currency reserve. The Currency reserve is not the private property of the Governmnt to do what they like with it." The 68 per cent. backing is paraded before us by the Government but the President of the Indian Chamber rightly says that it can only deceive the layman. By far the largest part is silver rupees wdich are really notes printed on metal and would of course be very little good to us for international remittances. He rightly retorted that if such a conversion of gold was considered from a currency point of view, the Bank of England would have taken it in 1920, when the cross-rate was as low as 3.17 and would be making immense profits to-day. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce have, of course, blessed the speech of Sir Basil Blackett in which they find nothing to criticise, for it reproduces what they have been saying. Time was about 10 or 15 years back when the Indian Chambers of Commerce had not made their appearance on the stage of public life in India when the Government referred to the opinion of Anglo-Indian Chambers as the opinion of the commercial community and followed it more or less faithfully. There is a danger that the Government are again reverting to the procedure adopted in those times as these conferences and confabulances between the heads of the Government of India and the Anglo-Indian Chambers of Commerce appear to give one an impression that the Government of India are on more occasions than one acting as merely the spokesmen of Anglo-Indian Chambers of Commerce. For a time at least outwardly the Government were holding a balance between Anglo-Indian and Indian Chambers of Commerce but latterly they seem to have given up even the pretence of doing so, and have taken upon themselves the not very dignified role of identifying themselves with the interests of Anglo-Indian Chambers and acting as their spokesmen on official policies. Indian Chambers of Commerce must watch this development with the greatest care and prepare themselves for meeting the consequences, such as they may be, of such an unholy union.

REPORT OF THE BOYCOTT COMMITTEE.

The Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress to consider in what best manner to put into operation the boycott programme has submitted a report which is eminently practicable and has above all emphasised the practical aspect of the question. The Committee recognises that the boycott programme is not an easy one and that it will require all the efforts being put forward to make it successful. They say, however, at once that the boycott of all piecegoods coming from England and foreign countries can be and should be undertaken at once. They rely upon Khaddar and mill-made goods to supply the wants and requirements of the people. The fear is entertained by some esteemed friends, believers in the Khaddar, that this movement may affect adversely the Khaddar production and Khaddar use. I myself believed like this last year but if India has to take up the challenge thrown by the White settlers of the British Empire there is no other course but to take up the callenge and use some such weapon as the boycott. We have already been for three years educating public opinion with regard to Khaddar and if now a few people turn their back on Khaddar and take to mill-made goods it will not be the fault of the movement. What we have to do is to see that Khaddar is given the utmost prominence everywhere and that mill-made goods are used by the poor and by such people as would not use Khaddar for some reason or other. Khaddar is the very life and soul of our present national movement and if Khaddar is allowed to die our movement also dies. It is the symbol of the prophetic teaching o the greatest amongst us and it is not from an idea of only pounds, shillings and pence that we are drawn to Khaddar or we want our people to be drawn to it. Several other friends, not of our view of thinking, have not still been able to grasp the real signigcance of the Khaddar movement. They do not understand from the standpoint of western economics why handspun and handwoven Khaddar should be preached except by men in lunatic asylums, for it breaks all their cannons of what they have understood as the science of economics. Khaddar is the symbol of a national revival and a purely national political economy. If a man puts on mill-made goods it will be very difficult to distinguish these from British or foreign goods and the cut and the style etc., adopted are still foreign. With Khaddar, however, there is no possibility for any deception whether conscious or unconscious and there is no possibility also for any foreign style retained in case of Khaddar. It changes the angle of vision entirely not only with regard to economics but with regard also to social and political problems. It is because of all this that I do not consider Khaddar as a mere variety of piecegoods but as a piecegoods with a meaning and symbol behind it. The Congress workers have to take care that in their propagation of the boycott movement they do not either by words or by implication harm the Khaddar movement. It must be recognised at the same time that Khaddar has penetrated as yet to a very small percentage of the total population and it is far better that the rest of the population should be dressed in mill-made cloth rather than British or foreign cloth. The people must be made to understand plainly that Khaddar is and should be the first and foremst consideration and that it is the primary duty of all the Congress workers and of all who have the interests of the country and of their countrymen at their hearts to put on Khaddar. If after this there are people who will not still put it they may be allowed to use mill-made goods but on no account British or foreign cloths. If I mistake not, this was the view taken even by Mahatma himself and if we take that view now the Khaddar movement will not suffer at all. The boycott will do what only the Khaddar would not have done in some directions. Take for instance the huge orders placed by different municipalities. Nobody cared whence these materials were imported so long as the work was done properly by the contractors, but now that the Bombay Municipal Corporation has given the lead with regard to the boycott of British goods, all the municipalities, local boards, district boards which the nationalists capture will stringently boycott British goods and contractors will be asked not to use them for the purpose of their contracts. We shall be thus dispensing with the necessity of using British articles and inducing our contractors and industrialists to ransack the country itself first for their requirements and failing that the foreign countries. It is said that the people in the villages who number 75 to 80 per cent. of the population do not have occasion to use British or foreign articles to any extent. I demur to this statemeat as even our village people have begun to use British piecegoods. Bombay and Calcutta are the 'entrepots' for our big inland trade in piecegoods and from these places heavy consignments are rushed to the mofussil. Who is consuming all these big quantities of British piecegoods? Surely not the big towns only; it is the country side also which is consuming British piecegoods, and the boycott movement will be extremely serviceable to prevent British piecegoods from flooding the villages. The "Times of India" cannot or will not offer sane criticism and so has run into some sort of heavy humour. The organisation suggested by the Committee prompts it to ask if a secretary, a stenographer and some clerks will run the boycott movement. May I ask who was rusning the whole show of the Munitions Board and who is running the whole show of the Government of India or even for the matter of that the British Government? Just as every questions comes ultimately more or less to be a question of pounds, shillings and pence, does not every question also ultimately resolve itself for its success or the reverse of it in the personnel of the staff? The movement will die if there is no organisation and if the organisation is suggested there are critics who will ask sardonically whether only typists will run the show.

VESTED INTERESTS OF FOREIGNERS.

We are hearing a good deal about the so-called vested interests of foreigners in all questions relating to the self-government of India, pay and prospects of the Civil services, etc. So the foreign commercial interests are always putting in to make their presence felt and to say that no radical measures should be taken towards self-government as otherwise their interests will suffer. The European Commercial Association gave a warning to the Viceroy and has chosen to critise the action of Lord Lytton in inviting Mr. Das to form the Ministry. Some comments of the "Nation" (American) in this connection are very interesting. This paper recently critiqised the action of Mr. Hughes in tying up the Department of State and Federal Judiciary with an American Banking Houses loan to Salvador. The "New York Commercial" thereupon asked: "what is the United States Government for, if it is not to back up its own citizens in their dealings with foreign governments or individuals?" The "Nation" observes in reply: "well, we do not recall that as one of the proinciples set forward in the preamble of the Constitution and it sounds rather in conflict with intention say to "establish justice" or to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." The "Commercial" retorts that if American interests in Salvador were in jeopardy and the Government of Salvador had a disposit on to default of its obligations to American citizensm the "Nation" would be the first to rise up and demand that the State Department take the matter up. The "Nation" makes a dignified reply that it would not. On the contrary, it says: "We hold that American business must take its chance abroad, as it does at home, and that it is entitled to nothing from the Department of State except insisting that our citizens be granted the equal protection of the law of the countries. Violation of this principle underlies our whole system of commercial imperialism." It is this commercial imperialism with which British Imperialism is identified. Otherwise one cannot account for the impertience interference of a handful of British merchants in the internal affairs of this country who have the temerity to shrow themselves between India and her promised goal.

ROYAL SERVICES COMMISSION.

In connection with the question of the capacity of India or incapacity to pay high calaries to the members of the I.C.S., the voice of the Indian commercial community should count the most, for they are the people who will be called upon to pay the piper when the time comes and they have the right to order to tune. From this point of view the statement submitted by the Indian Merchants' Chamber is extremely important. They have expressed their emphatic opinion that a costly Royal commission was absolutely unnecessary, specially after the adverse decision of the Legislative Assembly. In order however that the case may not go by default they have given their views on the different questions. The fundamental change they suggest is that of provincialisation of Services. The All-India Services existing at present with their covenant with the Secretary of State for India has made them into powerful trade unions which can afford to be regardless of the wishes even of the Government of India, not to say of theProvincial Governments. It is an anachronism that while India is put on the way to self-government the Services are placed still in a position where they can overrule and override Ministers, Executive Councillors and even Legislatures. The Services were obviously instituted with the idea not of having servants for India but having rulers which is the main distinction that differentiates the Indian Civil Service from any other Service in the world. Mr. Sapurji Sakhtvala very well observed in the House of Commons that the Indian Civil Service was neither Indian nor civil nor in any sense a Service. The evidence recorded by the different Civil Service Associations clearly shows that what is felt by them the most is the prospect of abandoning their position of rulers and changing it for one of servants. It is, therefore, that they are rallying round their citadel of a direct covenant with the Secretary of State which gives them quite a peculiar importance and position. All this should be stopped with regard to the new recruits and provincialisation of services must be instituted. Sir Chimanlal has also asked that the direct covenant with the Secretary of State should go and that the important services should at the most be All-India Services and that their recruitment, salaries, and conditions of service should be put in the hands of the Government of India. The Chamber says that the economic conditions of this country and the state of its present finance do not warrant any addition to the cost of administration and a man with the public and administrative experience of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad also supports this statement and says that "India has reached the stage of diminishing returns and increased taxation showing signs of reduced revenue." The European Chambers of Commerce which have established themselves as custodians of the interests of Civil Servants tried through the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to draw in the Viceroy just as they did in the case of Sir George Lloyd, but His Excellency Lord Reading is too shrewd a diplomatist to fall into the trap and he skirted round the dangerous ground with a few obvious platitudes. There is a good deal of difference between the Chelmasford Club speech and the Calcutta speech of His Excellency!

MONEY MARKET.

EXCHANGE QUOTATIONS.

	London, Dec. 24.
Telegraph Transfers	1/5 1/4 Steady.
Bar Gold	£ 4 15/1 Quiet
Bar Silver Spot	33 9/16 etQu

LOCAL EXCHANGE QUOTATIONS.

	Bombay Dec. 25. Market Rates.
Bank Telegraphic	1/5 5/32
Bank Demand	1/5 3/16
Doc. Acceptance 3m/s	1/5 1/2
Fcs. Demand	590
American Dollars	324
Hongkong Dollars	166
Shanghai	239
Japan	150 3/4
Singapore	165 1/2

Market—Steady.

	London, Dec. 24.
Rentes 3 per cent.	52 1/4
Bar Silver Spot	33 9/16
" 2 months hence	32 7/8

Closing Tone of Silver—Little India buying—Short supplies.—Very Quiet.

Discount, Bank of England Rate 4 per cent since 5th July 1923.

Interest day to day loans	1 1/2
Interest 7 day Market loans	2 1/2

WAR LOANS, ETC.

	London, Dec. 24
Funding Loan 4% 1960/90	£ 86 3/4
Victory Bonds 4%	£ 91
War Loan 5% 1929/47	£ 99 13/16
Consols 2 1/2%	£ 55 1/2
Rupee Paper 3 1/2%	42 1/2
Indian Stock 3 1/2% (Sterling Loan)	65 1/2
Govt. Securities 3%	56

Not much business doing—Firm.

	London, Dec. 24.
Conversion Loan	£ 75 7/8
5 1/2 per cent. Indian Loan	100
7 " " "	114

SHARES.

	LONDON, Dec. 24.
Chartered Bank	£ 19 3/8
Hongkong	123 1/2
National	42
Eastern	5 3/8
P. & O. Banking Corp.	12

GOLD.

Bombay, Dec. 25.

Ready:—25—4—6

Vaida. Opening	Highest	Lowest.	At 6 p.m.
Magsar 25—2—0	25—2—6	—	25—2—6
Posh 25—2—0	25—2—9	—	25—2—9

Teji Mandi.
Magsar —
Posh 0—5—0
Tone.—Market Steady.

SILVER.

Bombay, Dec. 25.

Ready:—79—14—0

Vaida Opening	Highest	Lowest.	At 6 p. m.
Magsar 78—13—0	79—13—0		79—11—0
Posh 79—15—0	90—0—0		80—0—0

Teji Mandi.
Magsar —
Posh 1—6—0
Tone—Market Steady.

COTTON.

Liverpool, Dec, 24

		Bales.
Total Day's Sales at Liverpool		4000
" Sales of East Indian		150
Mid. Americans spot small demand		20 61
Egyptian F. G. F. Sakels		23 70
New York, 11 a.m.	Mar.	35,21 +05
(As known in Liverpool at closing time.)	May	35.30—02
	July.	34.49—01
New Orleans 10 a.m.	Oct.	34.9
" " " "	Jan.	34.95

Liverpool, Dec. 24.

Cotton Del. M. U. G. O. C. Liverpool.	To-day's prices.	
	Jan.	20.41 +05
	Mar.	20.37 +06
	May	20.16 +02
	July	19.66 +04

AMERICAN COTTON—CLOSING PRICES.

New York, Dec. 24.

	To-day's Prices.	
Futures at New York.	Jan.	34.74—03
	Mar.	35.17+03
	May	35.32+08
	July	34.47+05

OPENING TONE AND PRICES.

Liverpool, Dec. 24.

Future delivery prices :—

Months	To-day's Prices.
Dec.	—
Jan.	20.36—
Feb.	—
Mar.	20.35—
April	..
May	20.18—
June	—
July	19.66—
Aug.	—
Sept.	—
Oct.	16.44—
Nov.	—
Egyptians Mar.	—
May.	23.10

CLOSING PRICES.

Liverpool, Dec. 24.

Months.	Today's Prices.
December	20 39 +05
January	20.51 +15
February	20.37 +06
March	20.37 +06
April	20.22 +03
May	20.16 +02
June	19.98 +04
July	19.66 +04
August	18.72 +04
September	18 22 +04
October	16.45 +01
November	16 10 +02
December	15.93 +02

Tone:—Firm.

EGYPTIAN COTTON—CLOSING PRICES.

Liverpool, Dec, 24.

Months.	To-day's Prices.
December	23.05 +15
January	23.10 +15
February	23.23 +15
March	23.35 +15
April	23.45 +17
May	23.55 +18
June	23.67 +18
July	23.58 +18
August	23.38 +18
September	23.18 +18
October	22.88 +35
November	22.58 +35
December	—

ADDITIONAL QUOTATIONS.

Liverpool, Dec, 21.

M. G. Bengal Good,	13.65
" " Fully Good	14.05
" " Fine	14.45
No. 1 Oomra, Good	14.85
" " " Fully Good	15.3
" " " Fine	15.85
M. G. Broach, Good	16.95
" " Fully Good	17.35
" " Fine	17.75
M. G. Scinde, Good	13.55
" " Fully Good	13.95
" " Fine	14.35

WHEAT AND SEEDS

Bombay, Dec, 25. 6 30 p. m.

The following are to-day's closing Rates as issued by the Bombay Grain Merchants' Association:—

	Bazar Terms.			Rail Delivery.		
Wheat, White Delhi 70-30	41	0	0	6	8	0
Wheat White Cawnpore 70-30	39	0	0	6	6	0
Wheat, Karachi Bangla	42	0	0	6	11	0
Rapeseed, Brown Delhi	10	8	0	11	0	0
Rapeseed, Brown Cawnpore	10	8	0	10	14	0
Rapeseed, Yellow Cawnpore	11	4	0	11	12	0
Linseed, Brown Bold	13	11	0	14	4	0
Linseed, Brown Thin	13	8	0	13	14	0
Teelseed, White 85-15	10	0	0	15	12	0
Teelseed, Gajar 75-25	77	0	0	15	0	0
Teelseed, Gajar 50-50	74	0	0	14	4	0
Teelseed, Black	68	0	0	13	8	0
Poppyseed, White	12	12	0	13	8	0
Groundnuts	71	0	0	14	0	0
Mowraseed	9	4	0	9	8	0
Barley	30	0	0			
Castorseed	73	0	0	15	0	0
Cotton Seeds Ready						
Delivery	39	0	0	5	9	0

Forward.	Rs. a. p.
Wheat, April/May	7 4 6
Linseed, April/May	13 15 9
Groundnut., Dec. Jan.	70 8 0
Teelseed Gajar, 85-15 Dec./Jan.	15 14 0

JAVA SUGAR.

London, Dec. 24

Fine White Java C. & F Calcutta December Sellers	32/ 9
Fine White Java C. & F. Calcutta July Sellers	24/ 6
Do July/Sept. Sellers	24/
Fine White Java C. & F. Bombay July Sellers	24/10
Fine White Java C. & F. Karachi July Sellers	24/10

METALS.

	London, Dec. 24
English best Selected Copper	£ 66—
Standard Copper G. M. B.	61 1/2
Copper Braziers	83
Yellow Metal	7 3/4
Hard Spelter	29
Tone,—	

METAL—LOCAL MARKET.

BRASS.

	Bombay, per md.	Dec 25 Rs. a. p.
Brass, English	3/4	66 8 0
Brass	1/	64 12 0
Brass	1 1/4	64 12 0
Brass	1 1/2	64 12 0
Brass	1 3/4	64 12 0
Brass	2/	64 12 0

COPPER.

	Bombay, per md.	Dec. 25. Rs. a. p.
Copper, English	3/4	71 0 0
Copper	1/	71 0 0
Copper	1 1/4	71 0 0
Copper	1 1/2	71 0 0
Copper, American	1 1/2	71 8 0
Copper	1 3/4	74 8 0
Copper	2/	74 8 0
Japanese Copper Bars		61 0 0
Panch Teka Joint		27 0 0
Copper, English Bars		61 0 0
Brass Bars		40 0 0
Pat Kla		66 8 0
Lead, Country		20 0 0
German Brass M 3/4		63 8 0
German Brass 1, 1 1/4 to 1 1/2 1 3/4 to 2		62 4 0
English Copper 1 3/4 to 2		73 0 0
American Copper 3/4 to 1, 1 1/4		71 8 0

RUBBER.

Para Rubber Fine Hard Cure, Jan-Feb.	12 1/2
Plantation First Latex Crepe Jan	14 3/8

LOCAL MILL CLOTHS—QUOTATIONS.

(ISSUED BY THE HINDUSTANI NATIVE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION.)

Bombay, Dec. 25.

	Rs. a. p.
Khadi:—	
Textile	1 3 0
E. D. Sassoon	1 3 0
Elphinstone	1 3 0
Longcloth (Full weight) 34/40 inches:—	
Standard per lb.	1 8 0
Century per lb	1 7 0
Hindustan per lb.	1 8 6
Fazalbhai per lb.	1 8 0
Textile per lb.	1 8 0
Phœnix per lb.	1 7 6
Pearl per lb.	1 7 6
Manekji (Gaw Mukh) per lb.	1 6 6
Elphinstone (Balti) per lb.	1 8 0
Jacob (Four Minar) per lb.	1 7 0
Longcloth (Light weight) No. 5202/5203:—	
Rachael per lb.	1 8 6
Pearl per lb.	1 8 0
E. D. Sassoon per lb.	1 8 0
Longcloth:— x Quality.	
Rachael per lb.	1 8 6
Fazulbhai per lb	1 8 6
Swan Finlay per lb.	1 8 6
Longcloth Satin Calendes, 34/40.	
Textile (hand)	1 7 0
Spring (Merchant) per lb.	1 7 0
Century (Bugle) per lb.	1 6 0
Bombay Cotton	1 5 6
Pahelwam	1 5 6
Hearth Brand	1 5 0
Salita:—	
Pabaney per lb.	1 6 0
Spring (Merchant) per lb.	1 7 0
Grey Drill, Century:—	
Dhooties 7, 8, and 9 Yards:—	
Spring (Balance) per lb.	1 10 6
Jacob E. D. per lb.	1 9 6
Textile (Bicycle) per lb.	1 10 0
Dhooties 10 yards:—	
Spring (Balance) per lb.	1 8 0
Textiles (Bicycle) per lb.	1 8 0
Check 5 lb. Grey Drill:—	
Standard per piece	7 8 0
Phœnix per piece	7 8 0
Swan Finley per piece	7 6 0
Hindustan per piece	7 12 0
Check 5 1/2 lb. Grey Drill:—	
Pearl per piece	7 8 0
Bleached Check:—	
Kasturchand per piece	8 0 0
Bombay United per piece	8 0 0
Birak Check 5 lb:—	
Textile per piece	10 0 0
E. D. Rachael per piece	8 12 0
Gabrun No. 5124:—	
Pearl	13 0 0
Hindustan	13 0 0

GOVERNMENT OBSERVATORY, COLABA.

Bombay, 24th Dec. 1923.

Means of observations taken at 6 a. m., 10 a.m. 2 p.m., 4 p.m., and 10 p.m.,

Barometer corrected to 32 deg. Fahr.	29.886 inches
Temperature of Air	74.1 degrees
Wet Bulb Thermometer	62.4 "
Dew Point	63.2 "
Relative humidity of Air	48% "
Extent of cloudy sky (the whole sky cloudy equal to 10)	1.2 "
Maximum temperature of Air	83.4 "
Minimum do. do.	68.8 "
General direction of Wind from midnight to midnight	N,NNW,NNE,
Movement of Wind from midnight to midnight	miles 236

INDIAN REVIEW

SPECIAL
DECEMBER CONTENTS

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and numerous other articles.

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Please note that the January issue or the New year number will contain accounts of the Congress and Conferences together with portraits of Presidents and other leaders.

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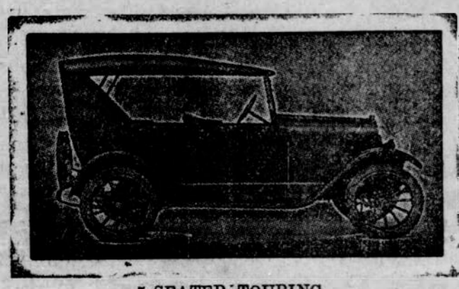

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HASRAT MOHANI'S CASE,

"A TISSUE OF IRREGULARITIES."

THE MAULANA'S WRITTEN STATEMENT.

The following is the full text of the written Statement of Hasrat Mohani in the case in which he was lately charged with, and convicted of, breach of Prison Regulations:—

Based as the system of the present bureaucracy is on the two main principles of force and fraud, it will, I hope, not be difficult for any of my comrades throughout India and elsewhere to realise the nature of this case. Some of the autocrats of the Bombay Government wanted to crush my national spirit and destroy my political prestige by means of every kind of high-handed persecution. But finding that at least in my case, their one principle of force has miserably failed, they have apparently decided to have recourse to the other principle of fraud as well.

What they want is, first to crush me morally and then they mean thereby to bring about my political downfall as a result of the social degradation which they think is sure to follow. They have been encouraged in adopting this policy by the unfortunate examples of poor Mahomed Ali and Mahatma Gandhi. One of them was directly deceived into tendering, perhaps unwillingly, an unnecessary apology and the other was indirectly persuaded most abruptly to suspend his scheme of non-co-operation at Bardoli with a view to satisfy Lord Reading in regard to strict adherence to the ideal of absolute non-violence.

But this resulted only in the gradual but sure and in a way automatical loss of their popularity and their subsequent arrest and conviction.

My political Guru the late Lokamanya Tilak of sacred memory was, in his time, likewise charged with an absurd offence of forgery in connection with the well-known Tai Maharaj case which wasted much of the Lokamanya's time and energy. But the Master succeeded after all in establishing the purity of his moral character and reputation, and as the Master so, God willing, will do the disciple too.

THE CONGRESS PRINCIPLE OF NO DEFENCE.

Rightly or wrongly it has of late become a recognised policy of true Congressmen not to produce any defence before any British Court of Law. I say rightly or wrongly for I am not sure about the soundness of this theory. As a matter of fact the Congress itself has, in a way nullified its mandate by allowing them to submit written statements. And a written statement in my humble opinion is nothing else than a kind of defence pure and simple.

I have, however, accepted this formality at least for the sake of my Congress discipline and my personal regard for Mahatma Gandhi and I took scrupulous care to adhere to it even on the occasion of my first trial at Ahmedabad under Section 121 I. P. C. when I was under the shadow of death or sure transportation for life.

A WORD OF EXPLANATION.

A word is, therefore necessary to explain my attidue of "defensive offensive" adopted on the present occasion. Had I been prosecuted again for sedition, for waging war or for some other offence not involving any moral turpitude, I would stand firm and unmoved. But the charge of bribing a poor but honest warder with the implied blame of selfishly disregarding his consequent ruin and loss of employment is such as cannot in any case be left unrepudiated. It has never been expressed in so many words but I think the Congress mandate itself is obviously restricted to political or semi-political cases only.

LEGAL ASPECT OF THE CASE.

As regards the legal and reasonable aspect of the case, I have for the present not much to add to what I have already said in my memorandum No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3 submitted to the High Court with a petition to have this case transferred to its own file. They are all attached herewith. Here I have simply to point out that "holding any communication in writing with an outsider" on the part of a prisoner is, according to rule 489 sub-section 7 of the Bombay Jail Manual, merely a prison offence and as such can in no way be dealt with under Section 42 of the Prisons Act which in this respect is obviously applicable to Jail Officers or non-prisoners only. See Rule 57 (3) of Bombay Jail Manual. The Public Prosecutor has perhaps knowingly or unknowingly neglected to see that "sending out of a letter by a prisoner" is quite different from "a taking out of the same by a Jail Officer, a non-prisoner or another prisoner." The latter can come under Section 42 P. A. But the former does not, and is therefore punishable as a prison offence only.

FORTY CRIMINAL COUNTER SUITS.

I have also prepared, in the form of a memorandum No. 8 attached herewith a list of some forty Criminal Counter Suits that can at once be filed against almost all Prison as well as other high Executive Authorities. I have given at the same time some such extracts from the Sections, Articles and items of the Prison Act, the I. P. C. the Bombay Jail Manual and my history ticket as are relevant to this case for easy reference and a better understanding of the situation by every one concerned (see memorandum No. 4, 5, 6 and 7).

The list has been hurriedly prepared and cannot therefore be exhaustive but even in its present incomplete form it ought to be sufficient to put the Government of Sir George Lloyd to shame.

They should realise that while they lose no opportunity of prosecuting and harassing political prisoners from the humblest to highest of them like Mahatma Gandhi often without any rhyme or reason and only sometimes with the excuse of some technical breach of insignificant jail rules, they let and sometimes even instruct their own members and other Executive and Prison Authorities to violate with impunity every rule and regulation which seems favourable to prisoners. (See memorandum No. 9 attched herewith). Take for example the case of Mahatma Gandhi. It is a well-known fact that he refrained from sending out even any verbal message to his countrymen through Mr. Shankarlal Banker on the latter's release from Yeravda Prison where he was his companion for more than a year. Now the Bombay Government instead of appreciating this straightforwardness of his character in voluntarily giving up all political activities have only been pleased to impose some further restrictions on his already curtailed literary facilities. I used to lend him some Urdu books on Islam and Sufism. But for some unknown reason even this harmless practice of exchange through the jail authorities of books among political prisoners has been strictly prohibited. Apparently the object of the Government is our mental starvation or intellectual death.

Some of the more cowardly and mean officials have of late been shamelessly taking advantage of our self imposed helplessness and indulging in all sorts of abuse, insult and ridicule. Montgomeries coming down on Mohanis with taunts of immoral and selfish actions and Haileys lecturing about the difference between the sanctity and sanity of Mahatmas like Gandhi will seem to have become the order of the day.

I should like, therefore, to take this opportunity of warning Montgomeries, Haywards, Haileys, George Lloyds and Readings in India as well as Vincents Sydenhams, O'dwyers, Churchills and Curzons in England and others of the category of hypocrites and liars that God willing, none of them will ever succeed in bullying or suppressing at least one poor but independent and God fearing Indian who is no other than their outspoken and consistent opponent—

(Sd.) HASRAT MOHANI.

MEMORANDUM NO 1.

(Showing that some questions of law of unusual difficulty and importance are likely to arise in the case No. 44 King Emperor Vs Hazrat Mohani before the Magistrate F. C. W. D. Poona.)

(1) On the 4th of May 1922, I was sentenced to two years' R.I. under Section 124—A by the Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad who wanted to transport me for life, as well as under Section 121 I.P.C. in spite of the unanimous verdict of the Jury in my favour, but fortunately for myself he had to refer the matter to the High Court where I was acquitted.

(2) As a protest to the injustice of my sentence I had made up my mind to disobey all rules and regulations of the prison and to defy the authority of Government in every possible way. But in response to the generous and gentlemanly attitude of Major Jones, the then Superintendent of the Ahmedabad prison, who took scrupulous care not to interfere in my literary and other harmless activities, I voluntarily undertook to suspend my political activities for the time being spending my time in compiling a biographical dictionary of Urdu poets, composing original pieces of lyrical poetry in Urdu and devoting myself to other literary activities of a similar nature, of course including the harmless pastime of mere newspaper reading.

I also decided to restrict my protest to only one constant act of refusing to work under compulsion for the benefit of the oppressor as a slave.

(3) For this continuous offence of refusing to work, which is nothing more than a prison offence according to Section 45 Sub-section 6 of the Prison's Act, Major Jones gave me an extraordinary and continuous punishment of cellular confinement until such time as I decided to conform to Rules (see page 2 of my history ticket item dated 15th May 1922).

(4) Contrary to Section 45 Sub-section 10 of the Prison's Act which lays down that cellular confinement cannot be imposed for more than 14 days at a time, I was kept in such confinement for more than six months by Major Jackdar, the Jailor and Mr. Vacha, the Superintendent of the Ahmedabad Central Prison who had succeeded Major Jones on the latter's transfer to the Yeravda Central Prison.

(5) According to the instructions from Government, I was forcibly transferred from the Ahmedabad to the Yeravda Central Prison on 20-11-22 where on 12-12-22 Major Jones punished me for refusing to work with the following remarks in my history ticket:—"Refuses to work as heretofore vide entry 15-5-22. So long as he persists in this attitude he will be denied the privileges of letters and interviews." And in addition to this most serious and unreasonable punishment of a permanent denial of such important privileges I was kept in separate confinement again for more than six months (from 21-11-22 to 23-7-23) by orders of the Superintendent (see entry dated 21-11-22 on page 10 of my history ticket) though this time the confinement was not imposed as a punishment but perhaps under Rule 783 (B) of the Bombay Jail Manual.

(6) The higher Prison Authorities finding their Prisoner untractable issued fresh instructions to Major Jones who on 18-7-23 punished me a second time for the same offence which he had already punished on 12-12-22, as shown in No. (5) of the memorandum, with the following remark in my history ticket:—"Refuses to work at anything whatsoever; according to instructions I award him one day's separate confinement; this punishment to be repeated daily so long as prisoner in this respect refuses to conform with prison rules."

(7) Now this second punishment for the same offence is clearly against rule 495 of the Bombay Jail Manual which says that "No prisoner shall be punished twice for the same offence." And I maintain that on 13-7-23, that is to say on the date of my being punished twice, the first punishment was automatically cancelled and the denial to me after that date of the privileges of letters and interviews on the part of the Prison Authorities thus became unlawful and wrong, even the deliberate defiance of which on 21-7-23 in the form of sending out a harmless chit on my part can scarcely be called an offence.

(8) All these punishments were in addition to another and much more serious though unrecorded punishment, for the same offence, of my complete exclusion from remission for a period of more than 10 months without any previous sanction from the I. G. P. as required by Rule 490 of the Bombay Jail Manual resulting in the commission of two more offences on the part of the Prison official against section 47 and 51 of the Prisons Act which lay down that every punishment must be recorded in a punishment register and more than two punishments cannot be in any case be awarded to a prisoner for one offence.

(9) My complete exclusion from remission is in itself a serious breach of prison rules, for according to Rule 508 of the Bombay Jail Manual this kind of total exclusion or automatical forfeiture of remission is restricted to only four cases mentioned in Sub-sections 1,2,3 and 4 of the said rule and my case does not come under any of them. In other words this sort of exclusion must be regarded as a punishment to some offence—in my case the offence of refussing to work whether it is recorded in the punishment book or not.

(10) According to the decision of the Inspector-General of Prisons I was and am still entitled to at least one day per month in spite of my refusal to work as can be easily seen by casting a glance at the second entry of page 9 of my history ticket dated 13-10-22 (remission for quarter ending 30-9-22—3 days.)

(11) That the entry referred to in No. 10 was authorised by the I. G. himself can be easily inferred from the highly important fact that up 12-10-22 the said entry was in the form "remission for quarter ending 30-9-22 nil days" but the word "nil" was scratched and the figure "3" inserted in its place on 13-10-22 by order of the I. G. P. with the obvious object (among other objects with which I do not propose to deal for the present) of correcting the mistake of my complete exclusion from remission for a period of more than 3 months. (See page 9 of the original history ticket for the scratched portion.)

(12) According to Rule 490, Sub-section (B) and (D) read with note (1) of Rule 491 of the Bombay Jail Manual, even temporary exclusion from remission cannot be combined with even a temporary forfeiture of the prison privileges of letters and interviews.

(13) That I am therefore perfectly justified in maintaining that the Prison Authorities have been doing me a grievous wrong in withholding from me the privilleges of writing letters to and having interviews with my relations and friends. According to Section 43 I. P. C. they were legally bound to allow me to have the benefit of these privileges. Their act of preventing me from writing letters and having interviews was and is therefore clearly illegal and I have been committing no offence in defying that unlawful authority according to all established principles of equity and jurisprudence.

(14) Besides, after the departure of Major Jones from Ahmedabad and under certain secret instructions from high Executive and Prison Authorities like (Mr. now Sir) Hayward and Col. Dalziel I. G. all those harmless and literary activities of mine referred to in No. 2 of this memorandum, were sought to be suppressed in a most high-handed manner. Even my request for at least a copy of numbered pages for taking down and preserving my original poetical compositions was rejected with the utmost contempt. I naturally regarded this act of Sir George Lloyd's Government as nothing less than sheer barbarism and was in a way compelled to send for newspapers from outside and smuggle out my poems at any cost in order to save those precious literary gems of admittedly unparalleled beauty from the sure fate of forfeiture and destruction under Rule 362 of the Bombay Jail Manual.

(15) And lastly therefore I hold that my act of sending out a chit which only acknowledged receipt of some newspapers on the present occasion, and of writing a letter containing nothing more than a few pieces of my Urdu poetry on a previous occasion (referred to in Item No. 3 of 13-10-22, on page 9 of my history ticket) are both covered by exceptions mentioned in section 76, 79, 81, 95, 96, 97, 104 and 105 of the Indian Penal Code.

MEMORANDUM NO. 2,

(Showing why Hazrat Mohani does not expect a fair and impartial trial in any Court other than a High Court.)

(1) The case is not a *bona fide* case, under Section 42 of the Prison Act and section 161 of the C.P.C. for in such cases the initiative is necessarily taken by the Superintendent, according to rule 494 of the Bombay Jail Manual. But I have reason to believe that far from taking any serious action against my alleged offence, even in the form of some major prison punishment, he was totally opposed to such high handed attitude towards me. The same, I understand was the opinion of the I.G.

(2) My prosecution is therefore due to the malice of Mr. Montgomerie only, who on the occasion of his visit to me, with several Prison Officials including the I. G., insulted me in a most insolent manner, calling my acts selfish and dishonourable and actually threatening me with the significant words "The warder will be prosecuted and you will be exposed."

(3) That acting up to his malicious intentions he instructed the Prison Official to have me prosecuted not only under Section 42 of the Bombay Prisons Act but also under Section 161 I.P.C. for the most absurd, ridiculous, false and frivolous charge of bribing a paid warder, for taking out of the prison a bundle of waste paper and a chit of receipt from me to a barber.

(4) That Major Jones, the very Prison Official, who on a pervious occasion most generously allowed me all the facilities to prepare my defence at Ahmedabad in 1922 (as can be ascertained from several entries on pages 4, 5, 6, nd 7 of my history ticketa copy of which is submitted herewith) has I believe, unwillingly and according to instructions from high Executive Officials, on the present occasion adopted a most unreasonable attitude of creating as many difficulties as possible in my way going to the extreme length of disallowing even a business interview with my wife and son-in-law in connection with this case.

(5) That for the same reasons the attitude of the trying Magistrate has from the very beginning been hostile. The following are some of his more objectionable actions:—

(a) The Magistrate managed to have the summons served on me through a Prison Officer only a few minutes before the commencement of the trial, intending thereby to take me unawares and finish my case in five minutes, as is his wont in similar cases against unfortunate and helpless prisoners in this Jail and elsewhere.

(b) He was not willing and therefore most reluctantly agreed only afterwards to give me an opportunity of consulting any of my friends and getting some legal advice.

(c) He objected to almost all questions of mine in the course of my cross examination of Major Jones, and in spite of my repeated protests was, at one stage of the proceedings, on the point of disallowing all questions, referring to the most important fact of my total exclusion from remission for more than nine months as absolutely irrelevent.

(d) I gave up my right of cross examining Mirza Abdul, prosecution witness No. 6, on his and Public Prosecutor's agreeing, with the permission of the Magistrate, to have the wrong word "jalwa" corrected into "halwa" in his translation of my Urdu chit (Ex. 1-A), of 21st August. But on the occasion of the next hearing of the case on 22nd August, the Magistrate, probably after receiving instructions from some mysterious source, most unfairly changed front and recalling the aforesaid witness No. 6 reverted to the wrong word "jalwa" ostensibly with the object of giving support a most ridiculously absurd theory of the Public Prosecutor that the chit was addressed to the barber in "Code" words.

(e) On more than one occasion, during the last hearing of the case, the Magistrate openly expressed his opinion to the effect that my cross examination and other efforts would prove of no use and that he was determined to decide the case against me, at least under Section 42 of the Prison Act.

(f) After promising on the first day to give me every facility to defend myself, he mysteriously changed his mind afterwards and refused to call any of my defence witnesses other than those within the compound of the Prison who, being direct subordinates and dependents of the High Prison Authorities, he thought would prove of no great help to me.

(g) On my requesting him to reconsider his decision not to call certain very important and to me indispensable defence witnesses, he persisted in maintaining his former attitude, without giving any but the flimsiest grounds for his refusal, as will appear from the perusal of my memorandum No. 3 attached herewith.

(h) The Magistrate seems to have no competent knowledge of the Prison Act and the Bombay Jail Manual, and as such can hardly be expected to give a sound ruling on many of the most important but difficult and intricate points of law that have cropped up in this peculiar case.

(i) In his order to refuse Mr. Koujali as one of my defence witnesses, he most improperly imputed to me the expression of certain contradictory ideas. Of course I objected to his offering me these gratuitous insults and requested him either to correct the order or give reasons for not doing so in writing. But paying no heed to my protest he has left the mistake uncorrected.

(j) On August 22, for some mysterious reason, he suddenly called my co-accused Mr. Saiphan Rasul, the warder, and without waiting for the arrival of his Pleader even for fifteen minutes, put some additional questions to him and taking advantage of his helpless position, closed his case in a minute and but for my strong protest would have convicted him outright, which would have gone a long way to prejudice my case also.

(k) On my requesting him to wait a little more for Mr. Saiphan Rasul's Pleader, he gave expression to these significant words "I know, he is not coming," indicating thereby that some thing was going on behind the scenes, of which the Magistrate was most improperly in the knowledge.

(6) That, therefore, so long as executive and judicial functions are united in one and the same person in India, and so long as the Home Secretaries and other High Executive Officials have the opportunity of exercising their sinister influence not only with the Magistrate but sometimes with the Sub Judges and Judges also, I do not expect any fair and impartial trial of my case in any Court other than a High Court.

(To be continued.)

A FAMOUS MAULVI.

Mr. Abdur-Rahman Ghulam-Rasool Munshi writes from Rander:—

I regret to announce the death of a renowned Moulvi of Rander named Kazi Rahmatulla Kazi Ahmadulla, which took place on this day, the 20th instant. He was one of the leading members of the Jameayat-e-Oloma-e-Hind and a famous Arabic scholar in Gujarat. He was, a few years ago, a nominated councillor of the Rander Municipality. Moreover in appreciation of his numerous public activities he was installed by the Anjuman-e-Islam of this place on the post of President, which he held concurrently for twenty years. When he was in South Africa about thirty-five years ago, the then Governor of Natal Colony, in recognition of his multifarious philanthropic duties, appointed him "Marriage Officer" for the solemnization of Mahomedan marriages in the colony.

KATHIAWAR NOTES.

FORTHCOMING TENNIS TOURNAMENT.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

RAJKOT, Dec 19.

Great interest is created by the forthcoming challenge Cup Tournament (Men's Doubles) to be played at Rajkot from January 20th to January 26th. The cup has been presented by His Highness the Maharaja Raj Saheb of Dhrangadhra and an influential tournament committee has been constituted. With Lieut.-Col. W. M. P. Wood, Agent to the Governor in Kathiawar as Chairman and Principal J. T. Turner of the Rajkumar College, Rajkot as Honorary Secretary. The tournament is open to all land-holders, Government officers in Kathiawar and others who happen to reside in the province for not less than six months, provided they offer the entrance fee of Rs. 15 on or before January 10th and agree to play morning and evening on any court and to accept the decision of the Committee regarding the organisation and awards including the Challenge Cup for three consecutive wins in addition to two Silver Cups, and two smaller cups to the runners-up.

Mr. Premshankar Dhaneshwar Travadi of Shihor has earned the gratitude of the Shrimali Brahmin students for whose benefit he has just set aside Rs. 3,000 in cash and Rs. 1,700 in insurance policy with profits, to establish a boarding-house, towards which a sum of Rs. 3,500 had already been donated by the Bhavnagar State, in lieu of the "chorashi" on the occasion of the death anniversary of His Highness, the late Sir Bhavsinhji, Maharaja Saheb of Bhavnagar. A further amount of Rs. 1,752 has been subscribed by the public spirited Shrimali Brahmins and it is hoped that more donations will pour in as the objects of the institution come to be widely appreciated.

VIZAGAPATAM CYCLONE RELIEF.

APPAL FOR FUND.

Mr. Kamaiya, Chairman Municipal Council and Secretary, Cyclone Relief Fund, Vizagapatam has issued the following appeal:—

"The town of Vizagapatam was on the night of Saturday the 17th November 1923 struct by a Cyclone of extreme severity. To appraise the magnitude and extent of the damage done and the sufferings to which the poor are subjected one need only visit the town at present. About a thousand houses and huts belonging to the poor and labouring classes were devastated, besides several partially damaged, rendering the inhabitants homeless and destitute. In a few instances people perished under the weight of crumbling houses and corpses were extracted out of the debris.

At a public meeting held at the Local Victoria Diamond Jubilee Town Hall on the 18th November 1923 under the presidency of M. R. Ry. B. Venkatapatiraju Garu, M.L.A a Committee was formed, with the Chairman, Municipal Council, Vizagapatam as Secretary and Treasures for the Relief of the distressed in the direction of feeding them and helping to rebuild their houses immediately.

A sum of Rs. 20,000 is approximately required for the relief above mentioned besides Rs. 30,000 required to acquire a suitable building site and remove them from the present flood-affected areas. The contributions already made by generous hearted ladies and gentlemen amount only to Rs. 6,000. The Collector of the District has kindly arranged a free supply of 20,000 bamboos and 1,200 poles from Government reserves to enable the poor to rebuild their houses. It is proposed to afford the necessary relief to the distressed as early as possible.

The Committee believes the sufferings of the homeless and destitute will elicit the sympathy of all philanthrophic ladies and gentlemen and all Maharajahas, Rajahs and Zamindars and appeals to their magnanimity for very liberal contributions to the Relief Fund, which may kindly be sent to the Secretary and Treasurer of the Relief Committee as early as possible."

CONTRIBUTIONS ACKNOWLEDGED.

Contributions from the following ladies and gentlemen to the Cyclone Relief Fund have been asknowledged:—

Mrs C A Henderson Honorary Secretary, Red Cross Society, Vizagapatam Branch Rs 500; C A Henderson Esq, I.C.S. Rs 100; W E Elsworthy Esq, Agent, Messrs Gordon Woodroffe and Co, Rs 500; The Maharajah of Bobbili Rs 100; F s George Esq, Rs. 25; Agent Messrs Volkart Brothers, Vizagapatam Rs 100; Vepa Purnayya Pantulu Garu, District Munsiff, Ramachendrapuram Rs 25; K Butchi Venkannah Chetty Garu Rs 5; Charuvu Somayajulu Pantulu Garu Rs 5; Public Prosecutor, Polavaram Rs 5; Duggirala Subbayya Chetty Garu Rs 4; C G Mackay Esq, I.C.S. Rs 60; C A Henderson Esq, I.C.S., (Second instalment) Rs 100; L R O'Donoghue Esq, Rs 25; Sri Vikrama Deo Varma Garu Rs 50; Proprietor of Gopalapuram Rs 100; Mr H D Gujaraja Rao Re 1; Mrs C A Henderson on behalf of the Madras Branch of the Red Cross Society Rs 500; Officials of the District Court, Vizagapatam Rs 6-8-0; Munshi Shaik Mowla Sahib Bahadur Rs 5; L Gokuldass Garu Rs 10; The Buckingham and Carnatic Mills Company Ltd, Madras Rs 500; Messrs Simson Brothers Ltd, Cocanada Rs 100; Zamindar of Kasimkota Rs 25; Baughmull Sowcar Garu Rs 150; M Ramkrishnarao Pantulu Garu Rs 10; V Pitchannah Pantulu Pantulu Garu Rs 10; V Putchannah Pantulu Garu Rs 10; Munshi Muhammad Imam Sahib Bhadur Re 1; S Subbayya Sastry Garu, Masulipatam Rs 10; S Anatha Rama Iyer, Madras Re 1; The Rajah of Bobbili Rs 500; Rao Sahib S Venkatasubha Rao Garu Rs 10; Col. H Cartwright Reid Rs 100; Rao Sahib S Sithapatirao Pantulu Garu Rs 50; Mr K Srinivasarao Pantulu, Clerk Post Office, Cocanada Rs 20; Rao Sahib M Sanyasiraju Pantulu Garu Rs 20; Dr U Ganapatirao Rs 15; G W Lowell Esq Rs 100; Mr A Kanakaraju, Pleader, Rajahmundry, (Bar Association) Rs 32; Mr G Gangadharam, Sub-Inspector of Salt and Abkari, Vuyyur via Bezwada Rs 5; W Crawsen Esq, Rs 10; M Venkataramayya Pantulu Garu Rs 5; A Suryanarayanarao Pantulu Garu Rs 200; Bh Thammayya Sastri Garu Rs 25; P Narasimham Pantulu Garu Rs 15; T Sitharaman Naidu, Manager, Survey Office Rs 8-14-4; A Kanakaraju Garu, Bar Association Rs 11; B Sriramulu Pantulu Garu Rs 10; G A Lestyne, Secretary, Chamber of Commerce Rs 100; Mr P Satyanarayana Pantulu Rs 25; Sir B N Serma, K.C.S.I., Rs 200; Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon Rs 1,000; Dr C Mallik Rs 10; Rao Sahib P Apparao Chetty Garu Rs 25; Mr P Kodandarao, Servants of India Society, Deccan Gymkhana, P. O. Poona Re 1; Rao Sahib D Sriramasastry Garu Rs 200; Mrs A V N College Rs 116; Mr P Sitarao Pantulu Rs 20; Rao Bahadur K Narasimharao Pantalu Garu Rs 5; Mr M bangarayya Pantulu Rs 10; Mr D Dakashnamurty Pantulu Rs 10; Major F J Anderson I.M.S. Rs 50; Mr E Venkataraju Pantulu Rs 10; Ch. Dharmarao Garu Rs 5; Dr H R Sadasivarao Rs 20; V D Parasadarao Pantulu Garu Rs 5; P Narayanamurty Pantulu Garu Rs 5; M Ramarao Pantulu Garu Rs 3; G Jagannadharaju Garu Rs 15; Cheruku Krishnamurty Garu, Sirearpallam, Trichnapally Rs 4; Eati Narasimhaswamy Naidu Garu Rs 6; Rao Sahib Jayanti Ramamurty Pantulu Garu Rs 5; G Venkatarao Garu, Kampli, Bellari District Rs 4-6-0; N Nanamthakrishna Garu, Mettapalam Coimbatore District Rs 5; N Macmichael Esq, Land Revenue Committee Board of Revenue Madras Rs 100; K S Narayanarao Pantulu Garu Rs 5; M Kameswararao Pantulu Garu Re 1; M Ramachendrarao Pantalu Garu Re 1; Asuram Sowcar Garu Rs 15; B Venkataramanamurty Pantulu Garu Rs 100; Total Rs 6271-12-4.

BOMBAY CITY AND SUBURBS.

Engagements.

TO-DAY.

Bombay Races: 4th Extra meeting.
Boxing Day: Banks closed.

THURSDAY, Dec. 27.

Municipal Standing Committee. 1 p.m. (S.T.)

SATURDAY, Dec. 29.

S. S. "Dongola", with English Mails leaves at 2 p.m.

RAILWAY TIMINGS.

B. B. & C. I. RAILWAY.

The principal Mail and Express Trains arrive at and depart from Colaba Station at the following hours daily. Standard Time is given in all cases:—

	Arr. H. M.	Dep. H. M.
Bombay-Peshawar Mail	12 0	*16 0
Gujarat Mail	11 0	**20 20
Delhi Express	6 30	20 55
Kathiawar Express	7 45	21 35
Express (arrives at Church Gate)	20 25†	7 5

*A portion of the Bombay Peshawar Mail will leave Ballard Pier at 15-30 on the day that the Mail arrives from England provided the ship reaches the Pier before mid-day.

This portion will contain limited accommodation for 1st and 2nd class passengers, their servants and luggage.

†This Express will terminate at Church Gate and Passengers for Colaba will not be booked by this train.

The Down Gujarat Mail for Kathiawar will stop at Grant Road for 5 minutes (departure at 20-35.)

G. I. P. RAILWAY.

	Arr. H. M.	Dep. H. M.
Punjab Mail	17 0	13 30
*Calcutta Mail (via Jan.)	13 0	21 0
Calcutta Mail (via Nagpur)	7 0	18 45
Madras Mail	6 30	22 45
Poona Mail	11 35	18 0
Inter 3rd Poona Express	12 15	14 15
Poona Express	19 55	7 45
Delhi and Lucknow Exp	9 0	21 30
Madras Fast Pass	21 35	9 0

*On Saturdays the rear portion of this train carrying passengers for the mail steamer will be detached at Kurla and run to Ballard Pier arriving there at 12-30.

SUNRISE AND SUNSET.

Dec. 26 (Wed.) Sunrise 7h. 9m. Sunset 5h. 9m.
Dec. 27 (Thu.) Sunrise 7h. 10m. Sunset 5h. 9m.
Dec 28 (Fri) Sunrise 7h. 10m; Sunset 5h. 10m.
Dec 29 (Sat) Sunrise 7h. 11m.; Sunset 5h. 10m.
Dec 30 (Sun) Sunrise 7h. 1.m; Sunset 5h. 11m.
Dec. 31 (Mon.) Sunrise 7h. 11m. Sunset 5h. 11m.

Domestic Occurrence.

DEATH.

LALLJEE.—Mr. Nassurbhoy Abdullabhoy Lalljee died at 1 a.m. Funeral to-day at 10 a.m., Khoja Mohalla, Samuel Street, Bombay.

KHADI AND SWADESHI EXHIBITION.

The Khadi and Swadeshi exhibition of the Girgaon District Congress Committee will be opened at the National College (Green Villa, opposite Grant Road, Post Office) to-day (Wednesday) 26th instant between 2 and 8 p.m. The goods exhibited include glassware, toys, buttons, inks paper and pencil, match boxes, sealing wax, soaps, etc. besides all varieties of hand spun and handwoven cottons and silks.

ALL-INDIA PUSHKARNA BRAHMAN MAHASABHA.

The seventh conference of the All-India Pushkarna Brahman Mahasabha is going to be held at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Public Hall, Bombay, between 1 p.m. and 6 p.m. on four days viz.—28th, 29th, 30th and 31st December, 1923.

BOMBAY SANITARY ASSOCIATION.

Under the auspices of the Bombay Sanitary Association a magic lantern lecture will be delivered by Dr. M. I. Khatkhate L.M. & S. on "First Aid" to-day at Madanpura Settlement S. S. League Hall at 8-30 p.m. (S. T.) The lecture will be delivered in Urdu.

AUSTRALIAN CRICKET.

NEW 1ST. WICKET RECORD.

LONDON, Dec. 24.

Melbourne.—In a match played here between Queensland and Victoria, Queensland made 162 runs in the first innings and 135 in the second innings. Rowe (not out) made 55. Victoria made 538 for two wickets and declared. Pousford made 248 and Mayne 209. The first wicket partnership yielded 456 runs being an Australian record.—Reuter.

ZEV FOR ASCOT,

LONDON, Dec. 24.

New York.—Vosdrugh, the handicapper of the American Jockey Club, has announced that he has received Sinclair's entries of Zev and Graylag for the Ascot Gold Cup for 1924. Graylag is the five-year-old outstanding handicap horse of 1923 season and one of the best horses on the American Turf with tremendous speed and great courage and is an excellent weight-carrier.—Reuter.

"TRAGEDY OF BACKSLIDING."

The notes from "Young India" under the above heading reproduced in "The Chronicle" of the 24th instant, were all editorial Notes except the last one which was by Mr. Rajagopalachariar. They were, through inadvertence, reproduced as written by Mr. Rajagopalachariar.

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The Bombay Chronicle.
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1923.
(655th Day of Mahatma's Imprisonment.)

A FORGERY?

"And they say: None enters Paradise unless he be a Jew or a Christian. These are their own desires. Say: Bring your proof (of that which you assert) if you are truthful.

"Nay, but whosoever turns his face entirely towards God, while doing good (to men) surely his reward is with his Lord and there shall no fear come upon them neither shall they suffer grief"—*Al-Coran*, Surat-ul-baqr, vs 111 and 112.

The teaching of the Coran-esh-Sharif is clearly to the effect that the mere profession of a formula of belief alone is valueless for man's salvation, and that conduct—the doing of good works is the test by which the Muslims, with every other sect and people are to be judged in the Kingdom of God, which for all true Muslims is a real existing Kingdom. It is the duty of the Muslims by their testimony and example to bring all mankind to the recognition of that Kingdom and obedience to its laws by making them discard everything which comes between them and the recognition of the universal sovereignty of God, and realise that the purpose of His Mercy is not for this or that race, sect or community, or continent, but for all mankind.

Again:

"The foolish among the nations will say: 'Who has turned them from the qiblah which they observed before? say: To Allah belong the East and the West. He guides whom He will to the straight path.

'Thus We have appointed you a middle people that you shall bear witness against the nations and that the Apostle shall bear witness against you and We appointed the qiblah which thou (Muhammad) didst observe only that We might know him who follows the Apostle from him who turns upon his heels; and it was a great thing only for those whom Allah guided, and Allah was not going to make your faith fruitless. Verily Allah is full of pity, full of mercy for mankind." Al-Coran, Surat-ul-baqr vv. 142 and 143.

The *qiblah* referred to in the text was the first point towards which the early Muslims turned their faces at the time of prayer; Jerusalem. Many of the Jews and Christians of Arabia who had given their adherence to the Prophet judged from this that there was a chance of bringing the Muslims into Judaism or Christianity—in other words of bringing them to the narrow view that "none enters paradise unless he be a Jew or a Christian." The Kaabah was then made the qiblah, and those false adherents fell away. The purpose of the Muslims was proclaimed. They were to be a middle nation to witness to the fact of Allah's universal sovereignty. "He leads whom He will to the straight path."

The reader will no doubt be wondering why these texts of Muslim Holy Scripture are being quoted and expounded in a nationalist newspaper. It is in order that the whole Indian public may judge of the offence to true Islamic thought and teaching which is contained in an alleged *Fatwa* which is being circulated under the name of a respected aalim of northern India. An English copy of the document said to have been taken from the "Sind Zamindar" of Sept. 1st, 1923 and quoted by that paper from the "Mujaddid" of Lahore, has been sent to us:

"I, Fakir Mohamed Abdul Bari residing in Frangi Mahal in Lucknow do hereby affirm that the manner in which unity and fraternisation with Hindoos is sought to be made, is positively Haram and to recognize it as permissible (Jaiz) is Kufur. To consider such a unity as desirable and not to forbid it is to put a lie in the mouth of the Prophet Mohammed. To say that there is no harm in such a unity is clear Kufur. To say that unity is essential for Islamic interests and to believe that Muslims will benefit by such a unity is most misleading, irreligious and distinctly false. To say that there is some Divine purpose in such a unity between Hindus and Moslems, and that Moslems would ultimately gain from such a unity, is nothing but a Kalma of Kufur. To help such a unity is to help Kufur and things which are Haram. To keep friendship with the enemies of God and to consider such a friendship as fulfilling God's desire is utter deception. To give instructions to Moslems for such a unity is to instruct them in Kufur and Haram. To do that, is as good as to say that according to Islam the use of liquor is permissible. To say that God will help us in Hindu Moslem Unity is to add one Kufur to another Kufur. To speak in that manner is to say that God will help us in prostitution. To have real unity with Kaffars is Kufur. To hope for unity with them is to entertain a desire of Kufur, in the mind. Not to injure the minds of Hindoos for considerations of friendship is haram. To be partial to their religion is Kufur. To consider unity with Hindus as practical and desirable is to give a lie to the teachings of the Prophet. To say to Kaffars that we should have real Unity is to prove that Quran Sharif is false; and to say that Hindus are sympathetic to us or that they would help us in times of distress or that they have no ulterior motive in the help they are rendering or that real unity has been established, or that they have made us their friends, all this is nothing but Kufur and Kufur.

"To call Gandhi Mahatma, to say that Hindu race is a noble race, to say that Hindus are a brave people or that Hindus are helping us without any selfish motive, all this is the Praise of Kaffars which is prohibited in our religion and is Haram; to say that Hindus are our brothers or that Hindus are our Countrymen or call them by the word 'Bhai' 'so-and-so' is all Haram. To take any Hindu as our Leader or to say that they help us in our religion is utter folly and nothing short of Haram. To take help from Hindus in the Domain of Religion and to expect such a help from them is an insult to the religion of Islam which is prohibited; and to say that if Hindus joined, the power of Islam would increase is to put lies in the teachings of Quran Sharif.

"The Sacrifice of Cow is in perfect accordance with the principles of Islam and such a thing is therefore desirable. To say in connection with that, sacrifice of cow is not necessary is false and misleading; and to say that in future I shall not sacrifice cow or to say that Moslems in obedience to my wishes should not make sacrifice of cows, is Haram; and to say that we are giving up the sacrifice of cow of our own accord and that Hindus are not forcing us to do that is an utter lie. To say that Beef is not so delicious or to say that cow is very cheap or to say that sacrifice of the whole animal like goat, sheep etc., is more desirable, all this is giving up our legitimate rights and amounts to an attack on the fundamentals of Islam. To say that when complete unity will have been established between Hindus and Moslems Cow-sacrifice will be completely stopped, is prohibited in our religion; and to say that we must have regard for the susceptibilities of our countrymen or that we should not injure the hearts of the Hindus on account of their goodness or to say that if Moslems had due regard for the feelings of Hindus, Cow-sacrifice would cease; or to say that while remaining as Moslems we should be able to satisfy all the desires of Hindus, all those things are Haram. To believe in the false thing told by Hindus and on the basis of their stories to condemn the Moslems and to call them rebellious or to say that at this time Hindus are better than Mohammadans, all these are words that would work your destruction.

I therefore hereby truly repent for the Kufur that is being spoken and the non-Islamic things that are being said in the name of Hindu-Moslem unity."

We need not emphasise the difference of spirit between the texts of the Holy Coran which we have quoted and this shameful document; but we may ask what kind of "witness against the nations" the so-called "Muslim" author of this "fatwa" thinks that he is bearing? We refuse to believe that it ever emanated from a man of the learning and distinction of Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow for the author has no claim to be an aalim. He has never studied the Coran-esh Sharif and the life of the Holy Prophet, or he would know the true Islamic meaning of the term Kafir. In the Holy Coran it means an aggressive, armed opponent of Islam and nothing else. The Holy Prophet himself declared that no one who says "Salam" (Peace) to Muslims should be called a Kafir. The writer of this so-called fatwa uses it where he should use *mushrik* (which means a person who associates any thing or person with Almighty God). The Prophet made alliances with *mushrikin*. He could not possibly have made alliances with Kafirin! We quote the famous declaration of immunity:

"Immunity from Allah and His Apostle to those of the polytheists (Mushrikin) with whom you (i. e. the Muslims) have a treaty.

"So travel freely in the land four months, and know that you cannot weaken Allah and that Allah will bring disgrace upon opponents (kafirin).

"And a proclamation from Allah and His Apostle to the people on the day of the greater pilgrimage that Allah and His Apostle are free from liability towards the polytheists; therefore if you repent it will be better for you, and if you turn away then know that you will not weaken Allah, and to those who oppose (allazina kafaru) announce a painful chastisement.

"Except those of the polytheists (mushrikin) with whom you have a treaty, and who have not failed you in anything and have not supported anyone against you. Keep their treaty for the term thereof. Surely Allah loves those who guard (against evil)." Al-Coran Surat ul-Bara'at vv 1—44.

Surely no further evidence is needed of the difference which exists in true Islamic teaching, between *kufr* and *shirk*, or of the fact that the Holy Prophet entered into alliance with the polytheists in the war for the establishment of the Kingdom of God in Arabia, or that such alliances were to be religiously observed. The Apostle thus himself bears witness against the writer of the "fatwa", as he does against all who make the religion of peace and light, which offers hope to all mankind, which is to witness against the narrow, false ideas of the peoples with regard to God and His religion, appear as narrow and as dark as any other.

The sacrifice of the cow is permitted by the law of Islam, but to say that it is necessary is false and misleading; to say that it is necessary in a country where it hurts the feelings of the majority of the people (even though they may be polytheists) is contrary to the whole Islamic teaching with regard to sacrifice. We know that the sacrifice of a cow is mentioned in the very *surat* from which we quote the words which we have placed at the beginning of this article. It is called Surat-ul-baqr (the Chapter of the Cow) on that account. It tells, how Moses, after demolishing the golden calf, found that the Israelites were still carrying on the idolatrous worship, adoring a living cow of a colour approaching golden; how he gave them God's command that they should sacrifice that cow—the thing which they adored instead of God—and, no other; how they tried evasion, pretending that they did not understand which cow was meant, and how in the end he made them do it. But the lesson taught in the Coran is indeed the opposite of that which the author of this "fatwa" seeks to inculcate. It is that Muslims should look to the purity of their own beliefs, not that they should demonstrate against the beliefs of others. If this last had been the lesson to be gathered from the story the sacrifice of cows would have been ordered while the Israelites (the Muslims of those days, as followers of a Prophet of Islam) were still in Egypt, where the people of the land were polytheists and practised cow-worship. Can anyone declare that Indian Muslims sacrifice cows because they are themselves inclined to worship them? If that were so it could indeed be claimed that sacrifice of cows was *necessary*. What Muslims have to sacrifice is that which they have wrongly placed between themselves and God, to get rid of false ideas of what constitutes religion for themselves, not others. The polytheists who were in alliance with the Prophet were all converted ultimately not by force of arms (for they were in alliance) but by the glorious example of the conduct of the early Muslims and the dazzling purity of their religion. There is no other way by which Islam can triumph; and an Indian Muslim leader who desired the real welfare of Islam would issue fetwas in denunciation of the *shirk* (association of human persons and earthly things, with God) which does alas! exist among so many so-called Muslims here in India.

Notes of the Day.

Mr. Sastri Speaks.

In the course of the speech he delivered on Monday at Banglore Mr. Sastri said that he had come to Bangalore as a sick man, but he believed he was returning from Bangalore a whole man. The country which has not forgotten his courageous advocacy of the cause of Indians in Kenya and his no less courageous criticism of the Cabinet's decision, will rejoice that he has been restored to health. And the speech he delivered at Bangalore which reveals how different is Mr. Sastri after the Kenya betrayal from Mr. Sastri, the erswhile "Imperial asset," will endear him more to the hearts of his countrymen. The speech has in it the genuine ring of patriotism and shows how the iron has entered into the soul of Mr. Sastri. "It is difficult for me," he said, "to speak with moderation upon the subject touching so deeply, not merely our interests, but our pride as Indian citizens." Yet the language he uses to describe the story of Britain's shame and India's betrayal is characterised by astonishing restraint. The White Paper he very properly dismisses as "a fulginous document" which is a camouflage to conceal the true inwardness of the whole affair, namely, that the British Cabinet gave its decision because the White people in Kenya threatened rebellion. No consideration of Right or Justice influenced their deliberations, but they sought in the White Paper very cleverly to conceal the determining motive of their decision. "When I, caring only for truth and for India's honour," Mr. Sastri declared, "mentioned it for the first time in public audience, they all seemed aghast." Mr. Sastri continued: "They seemed to think that I was giving utterance to something which ought to be hidden from the public gaze. They were evidently not proud of the transaction. They certainly were very angry with me. Friends and critics, newspaper oracles, members of Parliament, even those who were glad at any time to welcome me in the street and shake hands with me as a fellow-citizen, all thought that I had been guilty of a sin of a most grievous description, much like the sensitive daughter-in-law in the family who, having received a beating from the husband smarted under it no doubt, but smarted far more because the brother-in-law and sister-in-law had been looking on. The British Cabinet and the public of London were not ashamed of their having yielded to fear and inflicted grievous wrongs on India. They were far more angry because I had taken the world into my confidence."

The Disillusionment.

So much for the hypocrisy of the British Government. Let us look at the other side of the picture "The Government of India—all honour to them—stood by us to the very end of the discussions. Perfectly true, they gave us every moral support, they could, but the time for talk had gone and we had to tell the British Cabinet that if one side threatened rebellion we should at least threaten a little trouble. When the time has come to say that, our Government *necessarily* (Mr. Sastri's italics), shrank back. You could not expect the agents of the British Cabinet to take up that attitude. *Then let me tell you for the first time more vividly than ever, for the first time more stirringly than ever I felt that if we are to win our way in the world, we ought to have a different Government altogether*" (our Italics). The Government of India failed to act as the National Government for the simple reason that they are not a National Government and the Kenya decision is a blessing in disguise if it has opened the eyes of men like Mr. Sastri who, defying the wishes of their countrymen, co-operated with a system of Government that, by its very constitution could neither safeguard the interests of India nor vindicate her honour. Take Kenya. It must be administered in the interests of the African Natives and what is most essential for that purpose? That the African Native should come to this own and be freed from the domination of the White Colonist, who "is the land-grabber there, the political tormentor, whose one business is to oppress, to keep down, to make selfish laws, to exact labour from the poor people there, to use their energies for his own benefit—in other words, to use the language of one of their accredited spokesman, "having stolen the lands of the native, the next things was to steal his limbs." If, therefore immigration for instance, was to be controlled in the "interests of the Natives", the immigration of the White men was to be controlled not that of the Indian, who is the only friend of the African Native. But are Lord Reading and his Government, the subordinate branch of the British Government, to say this? "Every one of them", Mr. Sastri said, "might feel so and I believe in my heart of hearts that every one does believe it. But nobody dare say it, and yet if we are to win in this case, that is the thing, however, unpleasant, to be said". We have to fight for the repudiation of the principle of controlling Indian immigration, not to secure improvement in the draft Immigration Bill as we have to fight for the reversal of the Cabinet's decision as a whole and not to seek to modify it in detail as Dr. Sapru hopes to do with the help of his precious travelling Committee. "The horse has been stolen, you might shut the door, bang it a hundred times after, but you could not recover it by any discussion however meticulous, however ably conducted, of the provisions of the Immigration Bill." We trust the wisdom of these words will not be lost upon Mr. Sastri's Liberal Colleagues who are meeting in Poona to proclaim to the world, in spite of Kenya, their differences with their own fellow-countrymen and to eulogise the "achievements" of Dr. Sapru at the Imperial "entertainment."

The Lesson for the Liberals.

What Jallianwala Bagh could not do the Kenya decision has done. It has brought home to Mr. Sastri the need for immediate full self-government:

"However unwilling I was to recognise it in such vivid colours in the past, I can no longer conceal from myself that, without a Government that we could make and unmake as free people, we are bound to lose in the struggle in future. It is to that great object that all our energies have now to be bent. All talk of moderate and immoderate of extreme and mean in Indian politics has now no meaning for me. All must unite round this banner of Dominion Status and Dominion Status promptly."

Mr. Sastri referring to Lord Reading's veiled threat to the people: "Your struggles for immediate constitutional advance will meet with a *non possumus*. Elect, therefore, people who will be content to go on the present footing," significally commmented, "Well might he say so, but the country has decided otherwise." But is it Lord Reading alone who must profit by the results of the recent elections? Have the results of the elections no meaning for Mr. Sastri himself and his Liberal colleagues, the Bannerjees and the Chintamanis, the Setalvads and the Paranjpyes, not to speak of the lesser fry of the Western India or the U. P. Liberals,—"the people who will be content to go on on the present footing?" The Cabinet's decision did not come to the Non-cooperators as a surprise. It was the inevitable outcome of the present imperialistic system and Mr. Sastri's Liberal friends who co-operated with that system share no little responsibility for it however much they feel its injustice. If it has opened their eyes to realities and if they believe that India must concentrate all her efforts on winning Swaraj, they cannot, as correct patriots, keep aloof from their countrymen who have been so far carrying on the struggle. "The time for talk", as Mr. Sastri says in another connection, "is gone and for something substantial has come."

THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

STRAY THOUGHTS.

(BY LALA LAJPAT RAI.)

I

The Indian problem is a very vast and complicated problem—vaster bigger and more complicated than any known to history. Its bigness, vastness and complexity is not the product of its size only, but is also due to the variety and diversity of interests involved. In population, India is equal to the whole of Europe minus Russia. In area, it is about two-thirds of the United States of America. In population, it is the second best populated country in the world. In area, it is about fourth or fifth. Its history goes back to pre-historic times, its culture is so ancient as to baffle the researches of the best of antiquarians. No one can fix its beginnings, no one can trace its growth with anything like certainty and confidence. Among its population, it claims the representatives of all the races and religions of the world. Its people speak many languages and follow many creeds. They belong to different degrees of civilization. Yet no one can deny that it has a geographical, a cultural, and a historical unity of its own which distinguishes it sufficiently and markedly from the other countries and nations of the world. Its national and political unity, however, is denied by some, and affirmed by others. Among the former we count the British Imperialists and their foreign admirers, among the latter the Indian Nationalists and their foreign sympathisers. Motives apart, there is truth in both the statements.

India—A Nation.

The question is relatively new. It has come into more or less prominence within the last fifty, or at the most hundred years. Before that no one even thought of it. All history, ancient or modern, speaks of India 'as India', never of its parts. All references in foreign literature indicate this unity. The 'nation' idea itself is comparatively a new idea. It is a product and growth of the nineteenth century. Before that it may have been nebulant or latent, but no one ever attached any importance to it. It has come into prominence on account of the claims set up for its freedom or independence, of British control, by Indians or their friends in the British Isles or elsewhere. It has thus become an issue between the Imperialists and the Nationalists. The former are interested in exaggerating the diversity or races, languages, religions and cultures which characterizes it, and the latter in minimising the same. What matters is the motive behind, and the point of view from which the question is looked at. The tests of nationhood or nationality relied on by the early nineteenth century sociologists, have all, one by one, been dropped by the modern (twentieth century) thinkers, for the simple but most sogent reason that they do not fit in with the facts of life. Judged by those standards and tests, there are a few nations on the face of the globe which can be passed as such, yet no one in his senses will deny the title to peoples and nations who claim it in spite of the lack of those tests and whom the whole world concedes that title for all practical purposes. The subject is very admirably discussed in Mr. Zangwill's short but brilliant essay on "Nationality" published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., New York. I have no intention of examining the question here. I will assume that this diversity notwithstand.

(Continued on page 11.)

MESSAGE OF KHADDAR.

NATIONAL WEEK.

ANDHRA'S WELCOME TO ALI BROTHERS.

DELEGATES DISCUSSING MAIN ISSUES.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

COCANADA, Dec. 24.

Maulana Mahomed Ali, President-elect of the Cocanada Congress and Maulana Shaukat Ali, President-elect of the Khilafat Conference and a contingent of delegates, including a few leaders, arrived at Tuni this afternoon. The train reached three hours late owing to engine trouble near Rajamundry. Big crowds had assembled at several intermediate stations, including Sholapur, Hyderabad and Secunderabad and accorded the Ali Brothers an enthusiastic ovation.

Among those who alighted at Cocanada from the same train were Mrs. Gandhi, Bi-Amma, Mr. Vallabhai Patel, Mr. Rajagopalachariar, Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Mr. Shankerlal Banker, Mr. Shyamsundar Chakrawarthi and Mr. Devadas Gandhi. The delegates who arrived to-day were mostly from Bombay and Madras, while those from the northern and eastern parts are expected in a day or two. Mr. C. R. Das and Pundit Motilal arrive here on Wednesday.

On alighting from their carriage, the Ali Brothers were received by the reception Committee headed by Mr. Konda Venkatappaya, Chairman of the Reception Committee. They were garlanded amidst cheers and cries of "Mahatma Gandhiki Jai." Both the Presidents-elect were then taken in a procession through the decorated streets of Cocanada, large crowds cheering them throughout the route. The procession terminated at Gandhinagar in the evening. A Municipal address will be presented to-morrow. With the arrival of the two Presidents-elect, the National Week has commenced and some conferences will take place to-morrow.

The delegates are now busy discussing the main issues coming before the Congress. Uncertainty exists regarding the nature and extent of the revival of the bitter controversy which characterised the Gaya and Delhi sessions on the issue of Council-entry but the publication of the National Pact to eliminate the causes of communal friction has diverted their attention to the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity. Whether this pact will be accepted by the Congress or circulated for public criticism and whether as a result of the Pact communal difference will be composed remains to be worked out but unanimity of opinion exists in the Congress circles that to allow the continuance of the existing strained relations is dangerous to the cause of their movement. The Presidential address during the week and the resolutions of the Congress and the Khilafat Conference may therefore naturally be expected to be concerned mainly with the question of Hindu-Muslim relations.

Weather in Cocanada is pleasant though for the last two days it is cloudy.

GREAT RECEPTION TO ALI BROTHERS.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

COCANADA, Dec. 25.

Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali while travelling to Cocanada were given great reception on every station where the mail train stopped. The most part of the day and almost the whole night they travelled through Hyderabad territory where, on every station, tremendous crowds awaited their arrival. Friends from Hyderabad met them at Lingumpally. Although the platforms of the stations were crowded to their utmost capacity, the people were orderly and full of enthusiasm. But for their 'bideshi' clothes even 'Mahatmaji would have loved to meet them.

ALL INDIA HINDI SAHITYA SAMMELAN.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

COCANADA, Congress Camp, December 25.

The All-India Hindi Sahitya Samilan has, under the presidency of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj passed four resolutions, one of condolence on the death of Mr. Vajpai, a second appealing to the National Congress to conduct its proceedings in Hindi, another requesting the Mysore and Hyderabad Universities to have Hindi as one of mediums of instructions and the fourth forming provincial organisations for the spread of Hindi language.

NEW ARRIVALS AT COCANADA.

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI'S MESSAGE TO LADY VOLUNTEERS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

COCANADA, Congress Camp, December.

Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. [illegible]s with a contigent of nine hundred dele[illegible]s from Bengal and a number of others [illegible]n

(Continued on next page.)

Gas is now in use in Bombay for gold melting, soap boiling brazing and every conceivable purpose for which heat and power are required, since it is found the heat can be regulated to a nicety impossible with solid fuel.

SALVATION OF INDIAN PROLETARIAT.

WHAT THE CHARKHA REPRESENTS.

AUTOMATIC WAY OF UNIVERSALISING INCIDENCE OF WEALTH.

BE WORTHY OF THE EXEMPLAR AT YERAVDA.

ACHARYA P.C. RAY'S APPEAL.

Acharya Ray, in his address at the opening ceremony of the Khadi Exhibition at Cocanada yesterday, deplored the apathy of the public for the promotion of Khadi, the drowning of the musical hum of the spinning wheel in the more uproarious din of the polling-booth. He characterised the charkha as the most important item in the Constructive programme and showed by means of facts and figures the enormous gain that would come to the nation if every individual worked at the spinning wheel for at least two hours a day. He condemned the lip-homage that was being paid to the Charkha and flouted the idea of taking Khadi to the market-place as a commercial commodity. He insisted that spinning should be taken up as an essential domestic programme, in order that every family should be self-contained as regards the satisfaction of at least the clothing wants. He wound up his address by a passionate appeal to the audience to strive heart and soul for the promotion of Khadi and be worthy of the patriot-saint of modern India, whose mortal frame is encaged inside the iron-bars of Yeravda.

The following is the text of the address on he opening ceremony of the All-India Khadi Exhibition, at Coconada, by Dr. P. C. Ray:—

Friends,

When I received your kind invitation to take upon myself the great honour of opening this All-India Khaddar Exhibition in the heart of the Andhra country, I confess, I felt that it gave me an opportunity to speak to the representatives of the provinces gathered here, what I feel about Charka and Khadi, an opportunity which I cordially appreciate.

At the very start I must express my annoyance at one thing, and I am this time going to speak out, it is in the lip-homage that it has now become the fashion to pay to Khaddar; in the neglect and apathy that is again growing on apace about Charka in particular, and silent, serious, solid constructive work in general; in the drowning of the musical hum of the spinning wheel, in the more uproarious din of the market place and public-booth. Annoyance is not the proper word,—deep anguish creeps on my soul when I find that our former, age-long inertia and listlessness are invading us again; and that the splendid inspiration and lead that was given to the nation by our august leader, Mahatma Gandhi, is ebbing fast away and getting lost in the morass of sporadic outbrusts and fussy sensations. Let me make myself clear; I have no quarrel, not in the least, with sensationists and political dramatists. Sensation and drama have their place and no mean place in the moulding of public opinion and in the vitalisation of popular enthusiasms—but it becomes a disaster if these are allowed to engross our whole attention and tax all our energies—if there is not the solid back-ground of real, unobtrusive work done by and for the rank and file of the people, then all these dramas ultimately degenerate into farce, to the immense chegrin of the patriot and the merriment of the enemy. These remarks are being wrung out of me by the sight that the country now presents—the paralysis of well-nigh all our constructive work—the endless wrangling about the pros and cons of Council-entry that has been our favourite occupation for the last year and a half, as if that were the only thing that mattered—and Charka and Khaddar and National Schools and untouchability and arbitration and village organisation, all relegated to the scrap-heap, or at most, verbally mentioned in mock reverence and then brushed quietly aside. What a fall from 1921! Was it for this hair-splitting disquisition on the wonderful efficacy or otherwise of the Council-chamber as an infallible patent for obstructive Non-Co-operation, that students flocked out of the schools and colleges in their tents of thousands, that young and old, men and women, vied the one another in marching to the jail as if it were a place of pilgrimage, that the demos of the country surged and pulsated and swayed as it has never before done in our recorded history? The nation in its hunger for freedom cried for something more substantial, more life-giving than these arid discussions—and fortunate was India that at this crisis of her history she was blessed with a Captain who was not pestered with catch-words, but who laid down unflinchingly the steep, narrow path that alone can lead to salvation. The Captain is not with us to-day; but shall we falter? The path of salvation, say the Upanishads, is not easy, sharp as the razor's edge, difficult of access, difficult of progress, this is what the wise men say. But mark you, my friends—this and none other is the way.

Perhaps in the fulness of my heart I have spoken more passionately than I ought to have done—but I confess that the state of things in Bengal, so far as constructive work is concern, is such that it has filled my heart with infinite sadness—perhaps, and I fervently hope it may be so, the state of things is more hopeful, more promising, more encouraging in other provinces, in your own Andhra for example—and perhaps the seed, the little seed that our Master-Gardener planted with so much care and solicitude and sacrifice will yet sprout forth and develop and expand into a giant tree of spanless girth.

CHARKHA.

Of the various items of constructive work that lie before the nation; and on which so much emphasis was laid by Mahatma Gandhi, the most important and the most urgent for the economic prosperity of the people is the universal adoption of the Charka. What method is there which is available to every body, even the poorest and the weakest, and which may enable every one man and woman alike, to add substantially to his daily income? Such a method can only consist in removing the indispensable wants which everybody feels and which can be accomplished by means, within everybody's reach. And what other method is there which supplies all these desiderata excepting the homely Charka, which even the frailest woman can use and even the poorest can procure or manufacture and repair for themselves, and which would double the average daily income of the Indian proletariat, or if you prefer reckoning in kind, would do away with the peasants' cloth-bill altogether and also leave some margin behind? There is absolutely none other, in the nature of things there can be none other, excepting agriculture, and agriculture does not exhaust all the energies and the time of the peasant. At the most generous calculation, it occupies him for not more than eight months, in some parts of the country considerably less, and the reminder of the year is practically spent in idleness and wasted. So much for the men-folk; as for the women-folk practically throughout the year they can devote some little time to spinning, which would more than suffice to clothe the whole family for the year. Even from the argumentation point of view, this sounds convincing enough; but here I can say from personal experience during the organisation of relief-works in connection with the Khulna famine and the North Bengal floods that this is not mere theory but the barest practical truth. Had the ryot an alternative and supplementary means of livelihood to fall back upon, he would not have been at his wit's end for the failure of a single season's crop. And when we have tried to introduce spinning by the supply of Charka and of cotton, the poor peasants, men and women alike, have simply looked upon it as a God-send after observing the actual results.

That I have not exggerated a bit will be evident from a few very simple figures. What is the average annual income of an Indian? Naorji, Digby and Romesh Dutt have discussed the question threadbare; and Lord Curzon after having joined issue with them, came to the comfortable conclusion that the Indian, prosperious under British rule, can boast of the magnificent income of Rs. 30/- per head annually. Lord Curzon's reputation for veracity is well-known; let us therefore not doubt the correctness of this estimate. Even with this Viceregal estimate, however, the daily income works out at about an anna and a quarter, or five pice per day. Let us now see what addition to this income can be made by the adoption of the spinning-wheel. If a Charka is worked eight hours a day, then a practised spinner can earn 2 annas. If, to be more cautious in our estimate, we reduce the number of hours as well as the rate of production, even then there is not the shadow of doubt that the daily income is doubled.

I need not dilate upon this point, the figures speak for themselves. Another point should also be remembered. Spinning does not stand by itself; if it is universally adopted as a home-industry, it lends a fillip to and keeps moving a host of other simple village industries. When an entire village takes to Charka, the weaving-loom also becomes brisk; side by side, the dyer, the carpenter also find occupation. In fact, spinning may be regarded as the key industry of village life, the only home-industry par excellence, and it goes far towards making the villages self-contained in the matter of our indispensable requirements. The spirit of enterprise, and briskness and self-reliance that such an organisation connotes would soon bring new life into our villages and would prevent them from falling into decay that is at present gradually overtaking them.

If we translate these figures from the individual to the national scale, then the effect seems staggering. Taking the population of India to be roughly thirty-two crores, the total income, according to Lord Curzon's computation, would amount to nine hundred sixty crores of rupees per year. Now if only one-fourth of the population would spin two hours daily, then the national annual income will be increased by ninety crores. This is on account of spinning alone without taking into consideration the increase due to weaving this yarn and also the additional income accruing to other professions, the carpenters and smiths, for supplying the accessories. And as a mere element in this stupendous whole, the annual drain abroad of sixty to seventy crores of rupees on the score of piece-goods would stop and would remain in our country to enrich and nourish the life-blood of our half-starved peasantry.

Some people may ridicule these figures and say that their staggering magnitudes themselves prove their absurdity. One can only pity them. The narrow grooves along which their ideas travel make it very difficult for them to visualise the gigantic effects of an industry that is universally adopted,—even the much-inflated and over-capitalised joint-stock companies, trusts, and combines can be nowhere near aproaching them. This universal adoption is what makes such an industry potent.

THE QUESTION OF DISTRIBUTION.

The question of distribution is of very great importance. If it had been simply a question of stopping the drain of money outwards and of keeping the money somewhere in the country, then the purpose would have been equally served by big capitalistic concerns, by the creation of a number of giant electric-power mills, and so on. But for the purpose of distribution, mills and big manufacturing concerns are wholly incompetent. Mills can only reap profits, they cannot distribute them. And the problem of distribution is not a whit less urgent than the problem of production. What do we gain if the millions of our countrymen starve while the few fortunate mill-owners fatten on their unnatural gains? Only inequality in wealth will be created; the spectre of hunger and unemployment will stare us in the face in an uglier form; and a class-war, of dimensions the most appalling, will inevitably ensue, adding another most complex element to our already sufficiently complex problem. I need not be understood as saying by this that all big-scale industries are to be smashed—the thing cannot be disposed of so airily—and I could not even if I would. But surely you will agree with me that if the same result can be brought about by means much the less harmful, surely that were preferable. This work of distribution is, as I said, done almost automatically by the adoption of the Charka. As Mahatma Gandhi once very beautifully put "No amount of human ingenuity can manage to distribute water over the whole land as a shower of rain can. No irrigation department, no rules of precedence, no inspection, and no water-cess. Everything is done with an ease and gentleness that by their very perfection evade notice. The spinning wheel, too, has got the same power of distributing work and wealth in millions of houses in the simplest way imaginable."

An easy, healthy and natural process of increasing the wealth of the country, and a smooth and automatic way of universalising the incidence of that wealth—that is what the Charka represents. And it is not, to tell the truth, a new and untried system invented by quacks for the cure of our economic distemper. The spinning-wheel is not an innovation in India; it is, on the contrary, perhaps the longest-standing industry, next to agriculture in India's history. Not even a century ago, the spinning-wheel was the rule, and not the exception, in every village household. It would be sufficient to give a few extracts from the statistical observations of Dr. Francis Buchanan's economic enquiries in Southern and Northern India conducted between 1798 and 1814. They will go to show how wide-spread this industry was throughout the country, and how many hundreds and thousands of our men, women and children worked at it—mostly in their leisure hours—each day and earned crores of rupees annually.

"In the districts of Patna and Behar with a population of 33,64,420 souls, the number of spinners was 3,30,426. By far the greater part of them spun only a few hours in the afternoon, and upon the average estimate the whole value of the thread that each spun in a year was worth Rs. 7-2-8 giving a total annual income of Rs. 23,67,277, and by a similar calculation, the raw material at the retail price will amount to Rs. 12,86,277, having a profit of Rs. 10,81,005 for the spinners, or Rs. 3-4-0 per spinner.

"In the district of Shahabad, spinning was the chief industry. 1,59,500 women were employed in spinning and spun yarn to the value of Rs. 22,50,000 a year. Deducting the value of cotton each woman had something left to her to add to the income of the family to which she belonged. (Now-a-days these 22 lacs would at least represent five times the amount i.e., over one crore of rupees.)

"In the Bhagalpur district (with a population of 20,19,900, where all castes were permitted to spin, 1,60,000 women spent a part of their time in spinning and each made an annual income of Rs. 4½ after deducting the cost of cotton. This was added to the family income.

"In the Gorakhpur district (population 1,383,495) 175,600 women found employment in spinning and made an annual income of Rs. 2½ per head.

"In the Dinajpore district (with a population of 300,000) cotton-spinning, which was the principal manufacture, occupied the leisure-hours of all women of higher rank and of the greater part of the farmer's wives. Even the women of the Brahmans here employ themselves in this useful industry. Three rupees was the annual income each women made by spinning in her afternoon hours.

"In the Purneah district (population

(Continued on page 9.)

ACHARYA P. C. RAY.

Who opened the Khadi exhibition at Cocanada yesterday.

THE FIRST DUTY.

ASSERT INDIA'S SELF-RESPECT.

MR. SASTRI ON WORK OF ASSEMBLY.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

MADRAS, Dec. 24.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri in an article in the "Indian Review" on the next Assembly says that the foremost amongst the topics likely to command the urgent attention of the new Central Legislature are measures of retaliation necessary to assert India's self-respect as a nation amongst the component nations of the Empire and for the emancipation of the authorities in this country from the control which the India Office have apparently got back into the habit of exercing. He adds that it is safe to predict that the viceregal admonition will not deter the majority of M.L.A's from pursuing the course clearly indicated by the duty, which is to urge their country as speedily as possible along the path of peaceful and constitutional agitation to the status and dignity of a dominion.

RELIEF TO GERMANY.

BRITAIN'S INABILITY TO HELP.

LONDON, Dec. 24.

The British Red Cross, replying to the worldwide appeal sent out by the International Red Cross for despatch of money, food and clothing to Germany, says that in view of the extensive unemployment consequent upon suffering, Britain regrets she is unable to make a specal appeal on behalf of the distressed in Germany.—Reuter.

GERMAN MEMORANDUM.

SCOPE OF DISCUSSIONS.

LONDON, Dec. 24.

In continuation of the conversations on 15th December, a German memorandum has been presented to Paris, Brussels, Rome, and London, indicating the various questions dealing exclusively with the occupied territories, on which the German Government requests the opening of discussions. The questions raised in the document are concerned with economic relations between the occupied and the unoccupied territory, duties on goods, currency, banking, Rhine navigation, railway traffic, general administration and domestic legislation.—Reuter.

DETAILS OF MEMORANDUM.

LONDON, Dec. 24.

The German memorandum to the Allies suggests that customs and tariffs in the occupied area be brought into line with those prevailing in unoccupied Germany, money permission to circulate stable in the Rhine province, desires reinstatement of freedom for Rhineland shipping and points out that the congestion on the railways can be relieved by the recall of German railwaymen who alone understand the system in the industrial area. It says that payment of German railwaymen's wages and railway fares in francs is prejudicial and declares that the police forces in the Ruhr are not sufficient to carry out the duties and a larger percentage of trained men should be recalled to duty. It remarks that the installation of tax collectors and reinstatement of German ex-officials is essential and observes that resumption of the immunity of the members of the Reichstag and Federal parliaments, the right of assembly and independence of Law Courts is necessary.—Reuter.

GIRL ANARCHIST ACQUITTED.

LONDON, Dec. 24.

Paris.—The "Cause Celebre", namely the trial of the Anarchist girl, Germaine Berthon, on a charge of murdering Plateau, the leader of the Royalist organisation Camelots Du Roi, has ended with the acquittal of the accused.—Reuter.

DUTCH CABINET.

LONDON, Dec. 24.

Hague.—The Queen has requested the party leaders in the right of the Second Chamber to form a Cabinet.—Reuter.

RAISULI NOT DEAD.

LONDON, Dec. 24.

Tangier.—It is officially stated that Raisuli is alive and his condition has improved.—Reuter.

PRINCE OF WALES'S AFRICANTOUR

LONDON, Dec. 25.

Nairobi.—It is officially announced that the Prince of Wales will be unable to visit Kenya after his tour of the Union. Arrangements do not permit it.

Prince Arthur of Connaught *en route* to England paid a visit to Nairobi where he was the guest of the Governor, Sir Robert Coryndon, and stayed for two days. He visited the surrounding country.—Reuter.

Luxor.—A number of visitors including Sir George Lloyd were admitted to view the tomb of Tutankhamen.—Reuter.

POLICE FORCE IN BORSAD.

ATTACHMENT IN FULL SWING.

MERCHANTS' UNANIMITY.

POLL TAX IRREGULARITIES.

The Attachment work by Government officers with the aid of the Punitive Police is in full swing. On Saturday it was the turn of the town of Borsad. Our Special Representative describes the process as he saw it, and emphasises the perfection of the people's conduct, from the non-cooperation point of view, of strict non-violence.

(By our Special Representative.)

BORSAD, Dec. 23.

As I described in my last report the authorities are making efforts to finish in as short a time as possible the whole business of recovering the fine or attaching the property of those who decline to pay the fine, which comes to Rs. 2-7-0 per head of every adult inhabitant of all the communities of the Borsad Taluka and fourteen villages of Anand. At the beginning of January the revenue collection begins and the authorities are afraid that the revenue and the Police Tax might be confused and the people might refuse to pay the former if the Government officers insist on exacting the latter. The progress is so slow that a police officer complained to his superior yesterday that the attachment business at that pace would hardly be finished in less than 25 years! Even 25 years' time would be insufficient for closing the whole business. For, if the exaction work is inordinately prolonged the officers who are engaged in the attachment business will have to give up their legitimate duty and a large number of additional servants, carts, bullocks and motor cars will have to be employed for carrying away the articles secured by the attach[illegible] process, in addition to retaining the punitive police without whose help even *zabti* cannot continue.

INTERESTING DEVELOPMENT.

All of a sudden Borsad was selected as the scene of *zabti* operations. By 3 o'clock in the afternoon 50 policemen were marched into the market and each of them ordered to sit on the threshold of a shop. Many of the shopkeepers, getting wind of the happening, had quietly closed their shops and gone home. When I visited the town at about 4-0 p.m., more than half the number of houses were closed and in several streets I could find hardly half a dozen persons. The people were afraid that their houses might be invaded at any moment and articles captured. They do not dread so much the loss of their belongings as the presence of a policeman for a number of hours. The town wore a gloomy and deserted appearance till I reached the market of the place, which was all thronged with people, a policeman sitting at each shop. A force of police officers including the D. S. P., Mr. Rege, foujdars, inspectors, mamlatdar and a few more were conspicuous by their rapid movements from shop to shop, selecting which article to capture to recover the fine. It was no easy job for them to go from shop to shop as the people followed them in crowds to see the fun. I pushed my way to the front and watched the methods of the *zabti* officers. A brass-pot-maker who had to pay a fine for three adults, on refusing to pay it in money, was deprived of a big pot, a *bidiwala* lost a big mirror, the only decoration of his shop amidst innumerable little cigars, a corn merchant was asked to keep apart a ghee tin, while a haberdasher saw two big Pekoe tea tins disappearing from his shops. After that I went to an ironmonger's shop, who, finding me a sympathetic visitor, provided me with a *gadi* to sit on. His shop was also a marked and being a large one, received the honour of a visit from a foujdar. The Mamlatdar, Mr. Vali Baksh, a graduate from the Baroda College and not an unknown personality since the Kaira Satyagraha movement who was the hero of the show. His loyalty to the Sirkar, facile method of persuasion and attractive way of talking created an impression upon me which few other Government officials have created.

CASH-BOX BROKEN OPEN.

The Saheb came to the shop where I was sitting. Formal salutations having been exchanged between the foujdar and the mamlatdar, the latter with a vacant air searched the shop in order to select some article. He first inquired from the shopkeeper, who was a Brahmin clad from top to toe in Khadi, whether he would pay the tax. "No, Sir", said the shopkeeper politely. The Saheb turned his attention to me and then to the cash-box lying near me. The cash-box was locked and on getting no key from the shopkeeper the Saheb bade a policeman bring some instrument to break the lock. No sooner was it brought than with delighted looks the Saheb broke open the box. But all his joy disappeared when he found inside very beautifully arranged a copy of the "Nav Jivan" and a few false coins! He turned over the pages of the "Nav Jivan", replaced it, threw back the money, closed the cash-box and selected five buckets as attached property to recover Rs. 7-5-0 which the shopkeeper had to pay as the punitive police tax. I am not conversant with the subtleties of law and am, therefore, at a loss to know whether the Saheb's action in breaking open the cash-box was legally justifiable. A local pleader emphatically told me it was not. While the *zabti* show was in full swing the news spread that Durbar Shree Gopaldas and Mr. Mohanlal Pandya were addressing the people outside the gate. In five minutes' time the crowds were at the gate and the heroes of the *zabti*, the police officers, were left alone with a few urchins round them to admire their power.

I had never expected that the people of Borsad town would show such a rare unanimity and with one voice refuse to pay the unjust tax. Not a harsh word was uttered, much less was any insult offered to the officers while the articles of the people were being attached one after the other.

IN VILLAGES.

Just three years ago a Collector was a mighty emperor in a village in Gujarat and whoever got the opportunity to talk with him was regarded as a fortunate man. To-day a Collector is but a Government official and the peasants approach him with as much ease as they would approach the head-man of their village. It is indeed a sign of the times that a simple and unlettered villager can put questions to the Collector and demand a satisfactory reply, remarking that he would be justified in withholding the tax if he was not satisfied. A change has also come over the mentality of a Collector. He now coaxes the people and not seldom has a good word to say about Mahatma Gandhi, concluding his appeal with the remark that the local workers are misleading them. That is exactly what happened in a village called Nisraza in Borsad which was visited by the Collector of the District on Friday. After a lecture to the villagers persuading them to pay the tax, the following conversation took place between the village-men and the Collector which I translate below from the Satyagraha Camp bulletin:—

A village-man: Sir, the Government have got their C. I. D., why do its officers not trace the dacoits and perform their duty by the people?

Collector: I have not come here to argue with you.

Village-man: Is it not the duty of the Government to protect the people?

Collector: The Government have kept police everywhere and the number of policemen coming to your share has been allotted to you. Now that crime has increased a larger force has been found necessary, for which the people must pay.

Village-man: The Government budget an amount of 68 crores for the Military. Two lakhs and a half spent in Borsad when put by the side of this amount are a trifle and the Government is in duty bound to pay it.

(The Collector Saheb evaded a reply.)

Village-man: When the statute regarding the punitive police was framed the Government gave an understanding that it would be placed in execution only in exceptional circumstances.

Collector: When the statute was framed neither I nor you were born.

After a few more questions and answers of lesser importance the Saheb departed with a final appeal to the villagers to pay up.

The success of the *zabti* process can be measured from the fact that after all the arrangements of the police, the officers could hardly attach articles from 15 shops. They have got the whole taluka to cover and to exact the fine from thousands of families which appears to me to be humanly impossible.

POLICE-TAX ILLEGALITIES.

AN INCOMPLETE LIST.

Mr. Mohanlal Pandya, a veteran Satyagrahi of Kaira and an experienced village worker, gives me the following points of official irregularities and illegalities in the police impost transaction.

1. The punitive police, instead of protecting the villages from dacoits, are used by the officials for attachment work.
2. The police are asked to take charge of streets and houses of village people.
3. They are used in carrying away articles exacted in attachment and in keeping watch over them.
4. No inventory is being prepared, nor Panch collected, while *zabti* takes place.
5. Even when the owner is absent and his house-door bolted from outside, it is opened and some luggage removed.
6. Whatever luggage is removed is neither weighed nor valued.
7. No receipt for the article is given and even when a receipt is asked for the request is not complied with.
8. Attachments take place without ascertaining the name of the householder and without inquiring whether he has got to pay the tax or not.
9. Articles worth much more than the tax amount are being taken.
10. Milch buffaloes are untied and led away and the value of such a buffalo is more than the amount of the tax fixed for payment from her owner.
11. While the buffaloes are taken away their young are left behind, crying for the mothers.
12. No care is taken to feed the buffaloes in the cattle pound where they are usually kept, with the result that they cease to give milk.
13. Pressure is being brought to bear upon the head-men *mafadars* to collect taxes, and confiscation notices are served.
14. Land confiscation notices are also served with police tax notices.
15. While the attachment should take place in broad day-light the police is being posted early before day-break.

"OUTLAWS OF BORSAD"

To the Editor of "The Chronicle."

Sir,—The facetious manner in which the Director of Information explains away the imposition of the Punitive Tax is really amusing, since the long reports that he has appended serve the very purpose which he did not mean. The lengthy report of the District Superintendent of Police is merely a catalogue of numerous dacoities, murders, plunders etc., committed by the criminal tribe of Dharallas in the years 1920 to 22. In all realistic word picturing appear these incidents, but no where do we find a mention of the exact part played by the ordinary or the special police. What are the extraordinary feats the police performed in arresting the repeated occurences of such diabolical deeds, and what are the results? In what particular manner were their efforts thwarted by the so-called indifference of the people of those parts not coming to their aid? It is self-evident that the outstanding outlaw Baber Deva created a dread in the hearts of the people by the atrocious manner in which he dealt with all those that came in his path. Whether police officials or private citizens, whence once Baber Deva knew that his movements were being watched he surely and quickly made an example of them by meting out severe punishment from disfigurement of body to death. Under such circumstances it is rather irrational to conceive how the citizens could come to the aid of a police that instead of protecting them and the others from the out law simply exposed them to their tender mercies. Theories on paper about co-operation and coordination sound nicely and might even strike the imagination of the unconcerned, but we have to judge the situation from the point of view of actuality. If the police by dint of their superlative stength and capacity had impressed themselves on the imagination of the people by reducing the number of open dacoities and by the arresting of the leaders, and if they had shown to them that the threats of the outlaws were all chimerical, then surely the citizens would have been emboldened to come out with whatever they might have known. On the other hand the harrowing tale narrated is quite enough to convince even the most indifferent on the incapacity of those concerned to put an end or even to minimise the systematic outlawry that was going on. Like the drowning man catching at a straw, the citizens come in handy to the aid of the police. In the words of the Director of Information "if the Borsad Taluka absorbed the greater part of the police meant for the preservation of order throughout the District." why does he, as a lgical sequence, instead of parading their exploits and performances beg the whole question by declaring that "the efficiency of the police is based on the willing co-operation of the public"—a public that apart from being cowed down by the threats of the outlaws has had ocular demonstrations of what these threats mean in actual practise. No one can envy the lot of the man that was *crucified*. Managing to meander through the pages of your valuable paper I am led to think that instead of the citizens not having co-operated with the police, the police have failed to instil the public with a feeling of confidence in them, in which case matters would have been quite different. I leave it to the speculation of the readers as to what they have to make out of such suave phrases as "distinguished record of gallantry and efficient organisation," "a succession of the most capable officers" etc., contained in the letter of the Director of Information.—Yours, etc.

K. S. KRISHNA IYER.

Bombay, Dec. 22.

II.

To the Editor of "The Chronicle."

Sir,—Will you please publish the following?

The situation as revealed by the correspondence sent in by the Director of Information was not a sealed book to the public at large. Because, the exploits of outlaws and the terror they spread are recited in many a home and the news spread from one place to another with lightning-like rapidity. What is unusual is the apologia, that Mr. Gennings has offered on behalf of the Government. It is not shown, that the people have not grievously suffered at the hands of these freebooters. Whether as citizens or as informants, people have suffered grievously.

Does the Director of Information really imagine, that the public revenues of the Bombay Presidency, which are nearly Rs. 13 crores a year, cannot suffer an additional expenditure of a paltry Rs. 4 lakhs, to stamp out the pests, that harass nearly 2 lakhs of people? Why, even half-a-dozen big officers, with their yearly rising allowances, cost nearly as much.

I appeal to Government, in the name of humanity, not to proceed further in their present policy. They can postpone recovery of this unjust tax, till next year, or they can have it from the general revenues of the Presidency. If there may have been some gangs of outlaws from the Dharallas, that is no reason to penalise a whole people numbering more than 2 lakhs.

I hope, sane counsels would still prevail in the end. May I hope, sane counsels would prevail, sooner than usual? What are our leading lights of the Liberal Party doing? Where are Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Mr. Jehangir Petit, Sir Purushotamdas Thakordas, Sir Gokuldas K. Parekh, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah and Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai? Can they not, combined with Messrs. Chunilal Mehta and Cowasji Jehangir, approach his Excellency the Governor, and persuade the Government to give up their present policy?—Yours, etc.,

VITHALDAS K. BHUTA.

Amritwady, Girgaon.

Bombay, Dec. 24.

THE BENGAL PACT.

PROTEST FROM HINDUS.

(Associated Press.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 25.

Meetings have been held in Calcutta and mofussil towns in Bengal by the Hindus protesting against the Hindu-Muslim Pact arrived at by the Bengal Swarajya Party and confirmed by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. The Mahomedans are supporting the action of the Swaraj Party.

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION

(Associated Press.)

POONA, Dec. 25.

Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the President-elect of the sixth session of the National Liberal Federation of India arrived here this morning and was received by a large number of members of the Reception Committee and delegates to the Conference. A number of ladies headed by Mrs. Ramabai Ranade were also present. Among those present at the station were Dewan Bahadur Godbole, Dr. R. P. Paranjpe, Mr. G. S. Kamat, Rao Bahadur Kale from Satara, Principal Kanitkar, Professors Joag, Bandale, Padhye and others. Dr. Sapru was garlanded and a group photo taken. He was taken in procession to the Servants of India Society where he is stopping during his stay in Poona.

RY. TRAFFIC RESTORED ON EAST COAST.

(Associated Press.)

The District Traffic Superintendent wires from Khurdah Road under date 25th December as follows:—

Coaching and goods traffic will be resumed between Calcutta and Waltair on 27th December. The 4 Up Mail will leave Howrah at 13-45 hours and arrive Waltair at 13 hours. The 3 Down Mail will leave Waltair at 15 hours, arrive Howrah at 15-45 hours. The 24 Up will leave Khurda Road at 15-42 hours, serve all stations to Waltair, arrive Waltair at 11-52 hours. The 23 Down will leave Waltair at 23 hours, serve all stations up to Khurda Road, arrive Khurda Road at 19-32 hours. The 21 Down and 22 Up have been cancelled. The 105 Down and 106 Up on the Parvatipur Branch have been cancelled. The 174 Up on the Parlakemedy Branch will leave Najpada at 9-15 hours, arrive Paralakemidi at 11-35 hours. The 173 Down will leave Parlakemedi at 16 hours and arrive Naupada at 18-15 hours. The 45 Down will leave Vizianagram at 17-15 hours, serve all stations including Saluru and will arrive Parvatipur at 21-51 hours. The 46 Up will leave Parvatipur at 4-10 hours and serve all stations including Saluru and will arrive Vizianagram at 8-30 hours.

The east coast section of the line has now been restored and through running of trains resumed with immediate effect. The Madras Mail trains will resume running from Madras on the 26th and from Calcutta on the 27th instant with modified timings. In the meantime through passenger service is being run.

TRICHY, Dec. 25.

The Tiruchindur line from Tinnevelly junction to Srivaikuntam will be repaired and opened for traffic about a week hence. It cannot be estimated now when the line beyond Srivaikuntam will be repaired. Five and six Trivandrum Express trains now run to and from Pettai.—(A. P.)

VICEROY AT RANGOON.

(Associated Press.)

RANGOON, Dec. 24.

His Excellency the Viceroy granted interviews to the following gentlemen:—Mr. Cherry, Dr. Murray, Mr. Maung Pu, Mr. Maung Ba Pe, Mr. Maung Ohn Ghine, Mr. U. Ba Too, Mr. U. Po Tha, Mr. De Glanville, Mr. L. Ah Yain, Mr. Chan Chor Khine, Mr. Hossain Hamadanee and Rao Sahib S. R. Reddiar.

His Excellency the Viceroy received a deputation of the trustees of the Shwe Dagon Pagod.

Her Excellency visited the general hospital this morning. Her Excellency was met by Colonel Dee, Colonel Kelsall and the matron and inspected the women's and men's wards and the operating theatre, expressing herself as highly delighted and much impressed with all she saw.

INDIAN BAR COMMITTEE.

(Associated Press.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 24.

At a meeting of the Indian Bar Committee to-day Mr. P. K. Bose, a barrister practising at Dacca, gave evidence strongly supporting the idea of allowing Vakils to practise on the Original Side of the Calcutta High Court. In his opinion facilities should be given to Vakils to practise on the Original Side. He did not see any harm in allowing the four hundred members of the Vakil Association to practise. He was in favour of a Provincial Bar Council which would create a healthy atmosphere. He would not discourage men from going to England. In his opinion it was an advantage to the profession for a man to go to England and to read in Chambers. From his experience he was able to say that there was very little likelihood of a Provincial Bar Council being influenced by political or communal considerations.

NATIONAL WEEK.

(Continued from previous page.)

other provinces are arriving here this afternoon.

The Committee appointed in Delhi to revise the constitution of the Congress has recommended the holding of Congress every year in the last week of February or the first week of March instead of in the last week of December. If this recommendation is accepted there will, perhaps, be no Congress in 1924.

Among other arrivals in Cocanada are Sir P. C. Roy who will open Khadi Exhibition to-day and Dr. M. A. Ansari.

A large number of Akalis arrived last night and will hold a demonstration to-day.

Since their arrival, very large numbers of people are crowding before the Ali Brothers' cottage. When the local lady volunteers came in to pay respects to Bi Amaa, Moulana Shaukat Ali garlanded two of the leading lady Volunteers and addressing them said "Mahatma Gandhi has sent me an order from jail entrusting me with the prosecution of the khaddar programme. I am learning daily from my mother how to spin. I want five lakhs women all over India who will undertake the work of Khaddar and spread it in every corner of India. So you two ladies I am an offering this garland as a bribe (laughter) so that you may join me wholeheartedly in my endeavours to organise lady workers. You must also learn Hindi".

ALL INDIA VOLUNTEERS CONFERENCE.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL ON NEED OF CENTRAL ORGANISATION.

(Associated Press.)

COCANADA, Dec. 25.

The Conference of volunteers from all parts of India opened its session to-day under the presidency of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Mr. Nageswara Rao Pantulu, Editor of the "Andhra Patrika" (Madras), welcomed the delegates and detailed the services rendered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the cause of the volunteer movement in India. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said the problem before the Conference was how to make themselves more fit to serve India and hasten the day of her liberation. They were meeting in conference as soldiers of freedom and as soldiers they must be men of action rather than of words. They must organise a body of disciplined volunteers ready to sacrifice themselves at the altar of freedom. The foundation of the Indian national movement for freedom being non-violence, if a volunteer organisation, then, was to render effective service to the country, it must have non-violence for its basic principle.

After narrating the history of volunteer organisations in India, including the response of the people to the challenge of Government in declaring such organisations as "unlawful associations", the President remarked that the triumph of Nagpur redeemed greatly the want of success in many parts of the country: "We have seen in the past how thousands of our young men bravely faced suffering and few of us can doubt that thousands would spring up again when the call comes. We have also seen how utterly lacking in discipline our volunteers were and how our movement suffered because of this want of discipline. The fault was not theirs. We paid little heed to discipline or drill and spent our time and energy in exhortions and appeals. The first question for us to determine now is whether we require trained and disciplined men who will act like soldiers or whether we want brave and untrained men to face suffering and go to jail. I would strongly recommend that we should make every effort to have a trained and disciplined body without which our courage will bear very little fruit. Proceeding Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru suggested that out of the number of trained and disciplined volunteers some should be chosen for constructive work and civil disobedience and these must take the Congress volunteer pledge before they undertake any responsible work.

It would be difficult for the volunteer movement to succeed without the fullest support from Congressmen and even if it happened to prosper there would always be the danger of friction and conflict. The movement should, therefore, be subordinate to the Congress. The All-India Congress Committee should guide the movement and the Provincial Congress Committees should guide and control the volunteer organisations in their provinces but no subordinate committee should be allowed to interfere.

At the same time there must be effective all-India co-ordination of organisations and so there should be an All-India Board which would act in accordance with the Congress Working Committees directions.

Concluding Pandit Jawaharlal advised the Conference to profit by the splendid example of the Akalis whose real strength lay in their discipline. The dark days had passed and work was again beckoning. Some of the omens might still be unpropitious but even one omen was best to fight for one's own country.

NATIONAL BABY WEEK IN PUNJAB.

(Associated Press.)

LAHORE, December 25.

Preparations for celebrating the Baby Week on a large scale throughout the Punjab under the guidance of Lady Maclagan's Punjab Health Week Committee are well advanced. Major Town's programme of the National Baby Week has been adopted and a special modified programme has been prepared to suit the resources of smaller communities. The Punjab Red Cross Society is supplying magic lanterns to local committees and has arranged with the Punjab Public and Health Department for the supply of a series of lantern lectures illustrated by slides prepared from local subjects. These lantern lectures will constitute one of the most interesting features of the week.

INDO-AFGHAN RELATIONS.

DEMONSTRATION IN PERSIA.

A SYMPATHETIC HARTAL.

LONDON, Dec. 24.

Teheran.—Sinclair's concession has been signed. There was another anti-British demonstration to-day. A crowd gathered in Mushid Shah with the intention of proceeding to the Turkish and Afghan legations to protest against the present alleged ultimatum sent to Afghanistan by the British Government. Bazaars were closed in sympathy with the Afghans.—Reuter.

COMMUNAL ARBITRATION.

SARDAR MEHTAB SINGH'S MESSAGE.

(Associated Press.)

AMRITSAR, Dec. 24.

Principal Gidwani who is at present staying at Amritsar in connection with Congress publicity for the Akalis in an interview with Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh who is in lockup was authorised to inform Hindus and Mahomedans that the Sikh community was prepared to refer any disputable point which might have occasioned friction with other communities to the arbitration of two members of each community, including Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

PROTECTION TO HINDU TEMPLE.

SIKH LEAGUE'S ASSURANCE.

(Associated Press.)

AMRITSAR, Dec. 24.

The Central Sikh League has despatched a telegram to the Provincial Sikh League, Bengal, asking the latter to assist Swami Vishvanand in the campaign about the Hindu temple at Barrackpore, Calcutta, and another telegram has been sent to the defender of the temple assuring him of Sikh assistance and sacrifice for the protection of the Hindu temple.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

AN EX-MINISTER'S VIEWS.

(Associated Press.)

YEOTMAL, Dec. 24.

Replying to an address of welcome presented by the members of the Joint Board and the members of the District and Taluka Boards at the fourth session of the Berar Rural Boards Conference, Rao Bahadur Narayanrao Kelkar, ex-Minister of Education and Local Self-Government in the Central Provinces, cautioned the new Legislature to be on their guard lest they might give undue importance to the principle of communal representation which had already proved a bane and which, if pursued still further, might land them in the shoals of national disaster from which escape would be difficult. The principle was first adopted by leaders in 1907 and was ratified by the Congress at Lucknow. It was reported from Bengal that a pact had been this week signed in which 55 per cent. of the Government posts had been conceded to Mahomedans. There was no knowing where this policy of communal representation would end. Instead of closing the gulf between the two communities it was calculated to widen it, perpetuate differences and foment rivalries. Concluding he emphasised the Indianisation of the Services.

BERAR RURAL BOARDS CONFERENCE.

(Associated Press.)

YEOTMAL, Dec. 24.

The fourth Berar Rural Boards Conference resumed sitting under the presidency of Mr. G. S. Khaparde and adopted resolutions recommending the retention of both the district and taluka boards and giving the latter greater latitude of action, recommending the establishment of sanitation panchayets in Rural areas in Berar and demanding from Government exemption of payment of charge at five per cent for collection of cess under sections 48 and 49 of the Local Self-Government Act and praying for transfer of all public works in Berar to the district councils.

In view of the present circular issued by the Ministry of local self-government in the C. P. inviting opinions on the question of abolishing Taluq Boards, the joint board meeting held at Yeotmal under the presidency of Rao Bahadur Damle has passed a resolution recommending that the taluq boards should not be abolished.

RACE COURSE ON TEMPLE PROPERTY.

HINDUS THREATEN SATYAGRAHA AT BARRAKPUR.

(Associated Press.)

CALCUTTA, Dec. 25.

Agitation is going on at Barrakpur against the proposed action of the Turf Club in extending the race course there. It is alleged that the alterations which are being made to the race course there are encroaching upon the property of a Hindu Temple. A public meeting was held protesting against it and Swami Sachidananda states that arrangements have been made to offer Satyagraha there.

MESSAGE OF KHADDAR.

(Continued from page 7.)

22,40,300) all castes considered spinning honourable and a very large proportion of women of the district did some spinning in their leisure hours.

"In Eastern Mysore women of all castes except Brahmans bought cotton and wool at weekly markets, spun at home, and sold the thread to weavers. Men and women thus found a profitable occupation. In Coimbatore, the wives of all the low-class cultivators were great spinners.

"The statistics of weavers show that they also were as numerous as the spinners. In the Patna city and Behar districts the total number of looms employed in the manufacture of chaddars and table-cloth was 750, and the value of the annual manufacture was Rs. 540,000, leaving a profit of Rs. 81,400 deducting the value of thread. This gave a profit of Rs.1 08 for each loom worked by three persons or an income of Rs. 36 a year for each person. But the greater part of the cloth-weavers made coarse cloth for country use to the value of Rs. 24,38,621 after deducting the cost of thread. This gave a profit of Rs. 28 for each loom.

"In Shahabad, weavers worked in cotton only. 7,025 houses of weavers worked in cotton and had 7,950 looms. Each loom made an annual income of Rs. 20½ a year and each loom required the labour of a man and his wife as well as one boy or girl. But as a family can not be supported for less than Rs. 48 a year, it is suspected that the income of each loom given above is understated.

"In the Bhagalpore district, some worked in silk alone. A great many near the town made Tasar fabrics of silk and cotton intermixed; 3,275 looms were so employed that the annual profit of each weaver employed in the mixed silk and cotton industry was calculated to be Rs. 46 besides what the women made.

"For the weaving of cotton cloth, there were 7,279 looms. Each loom yielded a profit of Rs. 32 a year.

"In the Gorakhpore district there were 5,434 families of weavers possessing 6,174 looms, and the average income brought by each loom was Rs. 88 a year.

"In the Dungarpur district "Maldai" cloth was manufactured. It consisted of silk warp and cotton woof. 4000 looms were employed in this work, and it was said that each loom made Rs. 20 worth of cloth in a month. About 800 looms were employed in making larger pieces in the of form Elahis.

"In Eastern Mysore cotton weavers made cloth for home use as silk weavers produced a strong rich fabric. Workmen who made cloth with silk borders earned 6 annas a day and those who made silk cloth earned 4 annas."

ELOQUENT FIGURES.

These figures are eloquent. Crores of rupees were earned by these spinners and weavers by following this calling. And this universal adoption was the reason why India not only clothed herself but helped nations beyond the seas. And as Mahatma Gandhi very pertinently remarked. :—"The decentralisation of the industry—every village, town and district having always at its command as much supply as it needed—automatically facilitated its distribution and saved the consumer from Railway, Excise, and all sorts of tariffs and middlemen's profits of which he is a victim to-day. If we cannot return to these days, though there is no reason except our own bias and doubt why we should not, can we not at least so organise our industries as to do away without much delay with the foreign cloth with which our markets are being dumped to.day?"

The whole position has been very beautifully put in a nutshell by Mahatmaji. "Some consider that I am putting back the hands of the clock of progress by attempting to replace mill-made cloth and mill-spun yarn. Now I am making no such attempt at all. I have no quarrel with the mills. My views are invariably simple. India requires nearly 13 yards of cloth per head per year. She produces, I believe, less than half the amount. India grows all the cotton she needs. She exports several million bales of cotton to Japan and Lancashire and receives much of it back in manufactured calico, although she is capable of producing all the cloth and all the yarn necessary for supplying her wants by handweaving and hand spinning. India needs to supplement her main occupation, agriculture, with some other employment. Hand spinning is the only such employment for millions. It was the national employment a century ago. It is not true to say that economic pressure and modern machinery destroyed hand-spinning and hand-weaving. The great industry was destroyed, or almost destroyed by extraordinary and immoral means adopted by the East India Company. This national industry is capable of being revived by exertion and a change in the national taste, without damaging the mill-industry. If this employment were revived, it would prevent crores of rupees from being annually drained from the country and distribute the amount among lakhs of poor women in their own cottages."

The beauty and simplicity of this programme, thus outlined in clear, laconic language, by Mahatma Gandhi leaves nothing to be desired. Yet objections have been urged against its adoption—objections theoretical and practical, historical and economic, and what not? It has been emphasised that the Charka is a rank, economic heresy in these days of steam-driven; electricity-driven, petrol-driven machineries; that it would be nothing short of a disaster to civilisation if modern up-to-date time-saving methods were again to give place to these crude, primitive methods; that the adoption of such inefficient methods would be sheer waste of time which might have been much better utilised in other ways; that it is practically impossible even had it been desirable, for the Charka to live in competition with mill; that not merely in India but in every other part of the world, the spindle and the hand-loom were in vogue before the Industrial Revolution, but that everywhere they had died a natural death as instruments of mass-production, and if we might judge from history, the result could not be otherwise in India; that the Ganges cannot be forced back to Gangotri; and similarly in these days of rapid communication and easy transport, in these days of telegraphs and telephones, of giant ocean-liners and railway-trains, airships and motorcars, the vision of snug, little self-contained villages ensconced in their quiet meadows, living by themselves and for themselves is a Utopian vision—gone for ever and never to return.

The objections are formidable enough; they do not frighten me, however, for I do not dispute the truth and force of most of these statements; only I feel that this solid battery of arguments is somewhat misplaced—for I do not dream of emulating the achievements of Don Quixote of famous memory. I am not out to tilt at wind-mills, I have not taken a vow of ridding the fair bosom of mother India of the unsightly spectacle of whirling dynamos and smoking chimneys—my plans are not half as ambitious. Indeed, my antecedents, I venture to think, are guarantee enough that I am not likely to suffer from a particularly virulent type of anti-machinery obsession, or anti-Western bias. I have visited Europe four times and have lived altogether eight years in England. And in a manner it has been my privilege to be instrumental in introducing in Bengal at least one aspect of Western civilisation. Close upon a century ago, the great German Chemist Liebig laid down that the index of civilisation of a country is the amount of soap it consumed and he further asserted that the industrial progress of a country was measured by the output of its Sulphuric Acid. And it so happens that I am intimately connected with several concerns—one of which manufactures soaps in large quantities and which I trust invites competition with imported stuffs—and another, the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd., bids fair to be the biggest producer in India of Sulphuric Acid and its accessory products. With these certificates and testimonials duly laid before you, I think you will concede that when I plead for the Charka and the hand-loom as the means of the economic salvation for our unhappy motherland, I do so with my eyes wide open and with full consciousness of what modern machinery can achieve.

I am in this respect in a much more fortunate position than Mahatmaji, whose life was rendered almost miserable by his critics for his alleged vendetta against western civilisation. But in this matter, even he spoke out in no uncertain voice that whatever his individual notion of ideal social economy might be, he had declared no 'jehad' against mills. He said:

"Do I want to put back the hand of the clock of progress? Do I want to replace the mills by hand-spinning and hand-weaving? Do I want to replace the railway by the country-cart? Do I want to destroy machinery altogether? These questions have been asked by some journalists and public men. My answer is: I would not weep over the disappearance of machinery or consider it a calamity. But I have no design upon machinery as such. What I want to do at the present moment is to supplement the production of yarn and cloth through our mills, save the millions we send out of India, and distribute them in our cottages. This I cannot do unless and until the nation is prepared to devote its leisure-hours to hand-spinning.

NEED OF UNIVERSAL KHADDAR SPINNING.

Really this question of competition, this economic bogey that is paraded by theorists, we do not contemplate. If it comes to the commercialisation of Khaddar, of selling in the market like any other commodity and buying by strange customers, then I confess that there is very little chance of competing in point of price with piece-goods turned out in large quantities by up-to-date machinery with its labour-saving devices. What then do we mean? We mean this, that spinning be taken up as an essentially domestic programme, worked in every household, out of cotton grown in the cottage compound, the thread woven into cloth either by the family or by the neighbouring village-weaver on the payment of a nominal remuneration, and intended for the use of the family members themselves. Just as kitchen-work is undertaken in every household by the member of the family and eatables are not intended or purchased by cash-payment from any huge hotel or restaurant, in exactly similar a fashion should the clothing be provided for. The question of sale and purchase, of price and competition, would simply not arise. At the present moment, when cotton cultivation has not yet been universally resorted to, the cotton of course will have to be purchased. But even this should not be allowed to continue; the aim should be to plant cotton in every householder's grounds, and out of the product of those plants the family's clothing should be manufactured. This should be the method of work: prepare cloth, at least ordinary every day cloth, as you do your food, as a household requirement; abolish it as a marketable commodity, a subject of sale and barter. The competition bogey would then vanish into thin air.

Of course, if surplus yarn is turned out, and if cloth is woven out of that, naturally that will go to the market and people who want cloth will buy it. There will not be any dearth of buyers because there always will be people who have not got time or the leisure to prepare their cloth for themselves—they may be engaged in more profitable occupations, in more arduous professions—they have no other alternative but to buy cloth. This mention of people who have no leisure to spin and who find it much more profitable to utilise their energies in other ways, reminds me of a very cheap ridicule that is sometimes flung at the exponents of Khaddar—viz. that we want everybody to give up all other work, and to devote his time to spinning alone. Even "The Nation" the famous London weekly, which is remarkable for its breadth of outlook, once wrote:

"To go back to the spinning wheel is a retrogression. The attempt is pitiful and even ludicrous, when young men who should be studying at the University are invited to do with their hands and feet, the works of dull toil, what a machine would do as well in one hour."

Of course the remark is quite justified if one seriously calls upon all young men to do so. But that is not what actually happened. When a new movement is initiated, the intelligentsia must take it up before it can filter down to the masses. The educated classes must set the fashion, and the masses will not look upon the work as degrading and menial, and that is why in the beginning of the movement, everybody, student and professional men alike, were asked to devote some part of their time to spinning. When we come to the question of a practical programme, however, it is easily understood that this message of Charka is essentially a message for our peasants and workers, the teeming millions of India, who have got their leisure time to devote to this work. And as I have pointed out already, this labour, which brings a profit that means a mere pittance to the favoured few, spells to them the difference between semi-starvation and a full meal. It is the salvation of the Indian proletariat.

John Stuart Mill, the great apostle of Political economy, is of opinion that to bring about a change in the existing deplorable state of affairs, a turnover in the mentality of both the labouring classes and their employers is necessary, that both these classes must combine for general, at all events, for public and social purposes and not, as hitherto, solely for narrowly interested ones. But the capacity to do this had always existed in mankind, and is not, nor is ever likely to be, extinct. "Education, habit and the cultivation of the sentiment will make a common man dig or 'weave' for his country as readily as fight for his country."

However that is in passing. When the ideal that I have envisaged comes to pass, when the spinning wheel is humming in every house, when it is catering for the cloth in every family, the complaint of high prices will no longer be heard—in fact the question of prices will not crop up at all. There need not then be the fear of competition with cheaply turned out foreign piece-goods. And so long as that happy state of things is not reached, I think it is not asking too much of our patriotic countrymen to sacrifice something in the shape of higher prices for the support of home-made goods. Ours is not a National Government, ever on the alert for the protection of nascent industries; we must substitute for state-imposed protective tariff, our own preference for our indigenous products. As we all vowed in 1905, we must buy Swadeshi goods even at a sacrifice. Of course this state of comparatively high prices must not be regarded as the normal state of things—people must not be expected to resort to sacrifice as a normal and permanent course of action—we must take steps to turn out piece-goods in quantities so ample as to bring down the price automatically—otherwise mere cries of boycott and sporadic injections of political enthusiasms will all end in smoke, and perhaps give rise to irritation and disgust. Supply must be increased—there is no shirking that question. Those of us who think that the deficiency can be made up by the starting of a number of high-power mills are quite welcome to do so—I have not the least quarrel with them. Only as I have pointed out before they solve only one part of the problem—viz that of production; they leave the question of distribution exactly where it was. Still, let those who believe in mills start them. But such big establishments require mints of money and cannot be called into existence for the mere asking—they require time to organise. While therefore capitalists are thinking about the setting up of big mills, the country cannot wait—we must set about putting our houses in order, we must see that the cloth-problem is solved at the earliest possible moment and no other method can do that except the introduction of home-spinning. Apart from all the other considerations that have been set forth above in favour of the adoption of the Charka, from this very commonsense and practical point of view also, the urgency of the step is clear.

NOT A RANK ECONOMIC HERESY.

I think, my friends, you will now agree with me that, after all, the good old Charka is not such a rank economic heresy as we might be tempted to think at the first glance. It cannot be dismissed with a contemptuous sneer as a crude mediæval anachronism. It is perhaps high time that economists gave up their high-brow attitude. Doctrinaire economics of the Manchester brand does not perhaps sweep round the universe with the same flush of uninterrrupted success as it used to do before. And its most able exponents have been obliged to confess that it is after all not an exact science, but is very much a social science—effected and modified by the variations in the conditions of social economy in various parts of the world. The cult of efficiency and labour-saving which came to be regarded as sacrosanct in the first glamour of the industrial revolution has now come to be regarded with a bit of suspicion. Machinery which nearly threatened to supplant man, the twentieth century has succeeded in taking down from its false pedestal, at least in theory, and relegating to its proper place as the servant and not the master of man. The tedium, the dullness, the drab uniformity, the soulless grinding, the thoughtless centralisation that machinery leads to, has now been recognised—the cry has now been openly raised—"Back to the man! Back to the villages!" The reposeful activity, the healthy variety, the fine individuality of the village worker, working in the bosom of his family amidst his quiet surroundings has now extorted its duo meed of praise even from the most dry-as-dust economist. Even in industrial England so early as forty years ago, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain representing sooty Birmingham along with his henchman Jesse Collins stood up for "three acres and a cow"; and while I am writing these lines, my attention has been drawn to Premier Baldwin's piteous plea for the preservation of small cottage industries. Listen to what he says:

"Government proposes not only to keep men in rural districts, but to do something to prevent destruction of small but ancient industries throughout the countryside, the industries of the Blacksmith, the Wheelwright, the Saddler and others."

If that is the outlook even in England advocated by the greatest thinkers and statesmen there, how infinitely more necessary is it in India where the traditions are entirely for the cottage industries? In our blind veneration for dogmas about economic progress, not overmuch applicable to our social economy, we cannot afford to risk our all.

This disintegration, this disaster that is taking place before our very eyes, did not escape the observation of the very shrewd observer, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who says in his "Awakening of India."

"These changes in Indian economy, it is said, have to come because they are incidents in the path of progress. That is the only obiter dictum of our western blindness and arrogance. We live under the delusion that there is no emancipation except through the disintegration of social organisation. In the old days there was an organisastion which made the interdependence of the various functions in social life real Exchange was in the first place internal to community. There was a common wealth. The despised money-lender was a necessary social functionary. Now that is broken up. The individual cultivator has been dragged into wide relationships. He gets price for his products and he pays his obligations in coin. The economic community is broken up. Exchange of service has given place to purchase of service. Produce is taken away and the price of it remains, and this price is subject to many fluctuations in value, to which the producer under the vanishing economic conditions was not subject. The money-lender from being a social functionary has become a parasite. Individual capitalism is proving itself to be even more destructive of the best that is in India where its operations are alien to the civilisation of the country than it has proved to be in the west, where it has not been so alien. The ways of western progress are not the ways of eastern progress. It is simply absurd for us to look complacently on and see the ancient methods of credit upset, the ancient protections from famine swept away, and the ancient balance and economy destroyed, and rejoice that through this ruin, progress comes."¶

¶Similar ideas have been given vent to by Tolstoy and other eminent Russian writers.

".....The extreme proverty of the country was not due so much to the unequal distribution of land, nor to a false economic tendency as to the rather premature influx of European Civilisation with the Railways, producing an exaggerated centralisation in the cities, creating new luxuries and new industries at the expense of agriculture, and further introducing the huge credit system with its concomitant stock exchange gambling."

"Their present Railways 'called into existence not by an economic but by a Political necessity,' were detrimental to agriculture, because they brought in their train the development of industries and the system of credit fatal to it. Just as the over development of one particular organ in an animal would be a hindrance to its general development, so all these factors, 'unquestionably necessary in Europe that was ready for them, were a hinderance to the general development of the wealth of Russia, because 'it removed the important and pressing question of organising agriculture'."

".....The question at this moment is whether we have not weakened 'The springs of life' by the extention "of Railways?"

"Not Railways properly speaking.....but the general tendency, of which Railways may be considered as the outward expression and symbol. We hurry and push and hustle for the good of humanity! 'The world is becoming too noisy, too commercial!' groans some solitary thinker. 'Undoubtedly it is, but the noise of waggons beaning bread to starving humanity is of more value than tranquility of soul,' replies another triumphantly and passes on with an air of pride. As for me, I don't believe in these waggons bringing bread to humanity For 'founded on on moral principle' these waggons may well even in the act of carrying bread to humanity coldly exclude a considerable portion of humanity from enjoying it; that has been seen more than once....."

No truer words of warning were ever uttered. India cannot afford to ignore it if she is to live. The reign of the machine has not been much of an undiluted success even in the West where it has grown naturally, is it likely to be a success in India where it is only being transplanted as an exotic? Look at America, the paradise of modern Croesuses. Only the other day, I was reading an account of the congested slums of New York—the city of sky-scrapers—where the children of the working classes are on an average 15 lbs. underweight for being brought up in rank Mephistophelean atmosphere. With painful and fatal precision, a homeless, propertyless, shiftless, debased and demoralised proletariat dogs the footsteps of an unbridled industrialism. And at the other extremity, a hide-bound plutocracy revels in heartless enjoyment of its demonise power, and everybody, prince and peasant alike, to carry out its mandate and further its ends. And as a result of this terrific clash, Marxism Leniism, Bolshevism rear their portentous heads, threatning to engulf all civilisation in a stupendous cataclysm.

Dark is our outlook, if this thing goes on unchecked—if the prophetic warning of seers and thinkers to betake to a healthier course of action is unheeded. This ceaseless, restless din and bustle this unsightly, ungainly defacement of humanity, this ugly, hideous defilement of nature must cease if the world is to regain its health and normality. Grace and beauty it has none,—none of the sparkle of life's efflorescence—if is all dull and drab and sordid. If you look at it aesthetically, the thing is execrable.

This aspect of modern civilisation has also been very vividly described by Dr. R. Austin Freeman. Contrasting the gracelessness of modern civilsation with the healthy charm of hand labour, he mentions the very item of our present discourse—home-spun cloth—and he proceeds:

"If we chose to clothe ourselves in home-spun which would last half a life-time instead of in cheap machine-made garments which wear out in two or three years, one old industry might be revived. There is much to be said for making national dress reform a practical question. We ought to accustom ourselves to think of the conditions under which everything that we buy is produced. We should then take much more pleasure in a hand-made article, with some individuality in it, than in a standardised product of a great factory, which speaks of nothing but soulless, irksome labour. We are now suffering from standardised minds as well as from standardised commodities; and they suit each other."

CURE MENTAL PARALYSIS.

The learned Doctor has hit the right nail on the head—our disease is that of standardised minds. Unless and until we can shake this off,—shake off this habit of thinking to order—and begin to look about for ourselves and get into touch with the real heart of things, we cannot hope to attain salvation, economic, political or otherwise. Mental paralysis must go—we have heard a great deal about slave mentality— this is slave mentality, and this must be abjured.

We are apt to hear in season and out of season that India is an agricultural country. But it is not true; she was an industrial as well as an agricultural country. Mr. Montgomery Martin in his evidence before the select committee of 1840 says "India is as much a manufacturing country as an agricultural; and he who would seek to reduce her to the position of an agricultural country seeks to lower her in the scale of civilisation. I do not believe that India is to become the agricultural farm of England; she is a manufacturing country, her manufactures of various descriptions have existed for ages and have never been able to be competed with by any nation, whereever fair play has been given to them. I speak not now of her Dacca Muslins and her Kashmere Shawls, but of various articles which she has manufactured in a manner superior to any part of the world. To reduce her now to an agricultural country would be an injustice to India."

But she was reduced helplessly to the condition of having to depend entirely on agriculture. How it was brought about is a matter of common knowledge. The literature of the Victorian period of British Rule teem with facts and each one of the indictments is serious enough to make one shudder with horror at the barbarity practised to throttle a nation's source of wealth and production. In the days of the Mussalmans, India prospered. Just on the entry of the East India Company in India and about the time of the dismemberment of the Empire of the great Moghuls, India was full of wealth and life. Boltz in his "Considerations on Indian Affairs" writes "Delhi without the aid of silver or gold mines, was in her times of prosperity a receptacle into which the gold and silver of the greatest part of the world had been flowing by regular channels for ages, till foreign invaders interrupted its courses. This great influx of wealth was owing first to the extraordinary fruitfulness of the dependent dominions, secondly to the sober industry of the inhabitants, either applied to agriculture which was greatly encouraged or to manufacturing those commodities which have for many ages been in esteem throughout the world; and thirdly to the strong protection granted to the merchants."

Instead of giving protection to the Indian Industries, England used her utmost skill and power to crush her industries. It is painful to go through all that England deliberately did to injure India. Mr. Montgomery Nartni felt for India, having lived with the people for a long time, he came to love them and we read with wonder, passages expressing his love for the people and abhorrence for the injustice done to her by England.

"We have during the period of a quarter of a century compelled the Indian territories to receive our manufactures, our woollens, duty free, our cotton at 2½ per cent., and other articles in proportion, while we have continued during that period to levy almost prohibitory duties or duties varying from 10 to 20, 30, 50, 100, 500 and 1000 per cent upon articles, the produce from our territories. Therefore the cry that has taken place for free trade in India has been a free trade from this country, not a free trade between India and this country, ... The decay and destruction of Surat, of Dacca, of Murshidabad and other places where native manufactures have been carried on, is too painful a fact to dwell upon. I do not consider that it has been in the fair course of trade. I think it has been the power of the stronger exercised over the weaker."

In course of the recital of instances of barbarous oppression practised on Indian weavers and artisans Boltz writes: "and the winders of raw silk called Nagaads have been treated with such injustice, that instances have been known of cutting off their thumbs, to prevent their being forced to wind silk." No wonder, the Historian Wilson would exclaim: "The foreign manufacturer employed the arms of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms." This quotation is from Wilson who wrote in 1813.

The quotation is from old History but the policy of making England thrive at the expense of Indian industries still continues unabated. Dutt writes as late as 1901 that "the bread of Indian artisan and manufacturer is still leavened with a sense of injustice and no statesman has yet seriously endeavoured to protect, foster and revive their old and ruined industries. Lancashire would not permit any such endeavour, if it was made."

HELP TO USHER IN NEW ERA.

I would now ask the educated men of India to consider if they would still stoop to be clothed at the hands of the same Lancashire in whose interest our country has been so far degraded and rendered destitute? Would not the fine pieces of foreign cotton goods hang heavily on our body? I utter not these in hatred to Lancashire but out of love to the millions who would get a morsel of food if you, educated men, would cease to be clothed by foreigners, for your example will filter down and help to usher in a new era in our industrial, economic and also assuredly in political life.

I am afraid, my friends, I have tired out your patience by this long and somewhat discursive homily—I beg to be excused—it is so difficult to stop when anything touches the heart so nearly, and so many issues are raised. Really much of what has been said ought to be unnecessary, for I flatter myself that I am arguing to the convinced—and convinced by one far greater than myself, not merely by words but by the force of his living example. That frail figure, loincloth in Khaddar, eloquent in its very silence, roused India as by electric thrill, from one end to the other, and moved her to spare no pains in realising the ideal her great leader had placed before her. I can only add my feeble voice to that soul-stirring appeal which ought not to stand in need of any such addition.

As I conclude, my eyes are turned to the Yeravada gaol—inside the iron-bars of which lies encaged the mortal frame of the patriot-saint of modern India, the purest and noblest soul that ever drew breath, he who thought out and preached and lived the gospel of India's salvation. Though to our infinite sorrow and shame his mortal frame still lies there, we know his spirit is ever with us, ever ready to rouse us and inspire us whenever we are lapsing into inertia. May that spirit and that shining example ever lead us on in our quest for freedom! May we ever be worthy of our great Exemplar! MAHATMA GANDHI KI JAY!

PALESTINE MOSQUES.

COMMITTEE FORMED AT DELHI TO COLLECT SUBSCRIPTIONS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

DELHI, Dec. 24.

A Committee for collecting subscriptions for the repair of the mosques of Al-Aksa and the Dome of the Rock of Palestine has been formed in Delhi, consisting of the members of the Managing Committee of the Juma Musjid and Fatehpuri Mosque with Hakim Ajmal Khan as President, Pirzada Syed Mahommed Hussain as Vice President and Moulvi Syed Ahmed (Shahi Imam) of the Juma Musjid and Nawab Abul Hassan Khan as Secretaries. The Committee is authorised to co-opt other members from the different wards of the city. About Rs. 8,000 has already been promised or collected and deposited in the Imperial Bank at Delhi.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME.

MAKE IT A SUCCESS.

HAKIM AJMAL KHAN'S MESSAGE.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

DELHI, Dec. 24.

Hakim Ajmal Khan has written the following letter to Maulana Mahomed Ali, President of the Cocanada Congress:—

"On this happiest moment of your life, when you are elected spokesman of your countrymen, constituting one fifth of the human race, I send you my greetings and good wishes and pray that God may grant you courage and wisdom to do your duty wisely and well.

I also congratulate my countrymen on their eminently happy choice and trust that their representatives assembled at the beautiful but distant Cocanada from all parts of the country would under your able guidance make the present session a record and unique success by bringing to bear upon all the weighty and sometimes knotty questions which may come up before you for deliberation, discussion and decision that broad-minded spirit of patriotism which alone can help us on such critical occasions as the present in our arduous and difficult work of political emancipation.

How I wish, I was with you all to do my humble best in the sacred service of the country but the condition of my eye and general health do not allow me to participate in your sacred work at Cocanada. I assure you all that I shall be with you in spirit. Deprived thus, a short message to my countrymen at this crisis in national life is all that I can do and send it almost convinced that it will be heard and attended to.

I am positively of opinion that with a view to preserve a peaceful non-controversial atmosphere for impartial discussion and decision of a number of weighty questions, the question of Council should not be re-opened by either party and that so far as this matter is concerned a deliberate and decisive attitude of sacred silence would be maintained.

I am equally positive of opinion that all Congressmen should unitedly devise effective means and engage themselves in making the Constructive Programme a success so that at the next session we may be able to give a better account of ourselves, for I believe that the future of our works depends mostly on entirely on this.

This would naturally include the knotty problem of Hindu-Muslim unity—a question whose importance can neither be denied nor minimized and its solution would depend on what effective measures we adopt to make this unity and along with it an inter-communal unity a *fait accompli*; for without it Swaraj has no meaning. Viewed in this light the question of adopting a National Pact is a question of the first importance. It includes also the popularization and production of khaddar which is the sole guarantee of our economic salvation. The reorganisation of the Congress committee with such changes, if any, as may have been found necessary in the light of our past experience demands our immediate attention.

HELP TO AKALIS.

The Akali movement the recent official onslaught on which is a direct challenge to the country, also deserves our very anxious patient and careful consideration. For the present policy of Government threatens all other organisations of the land, religious, social or poltical, which from an official point of view may be dubbed as detrimental to the interest of the Government or in other words, whose object, directly or indirectly, is to rid India of her present unprecedented condition of slavery and poverty.

This is a very rough and brief outline of the stupendous work before the National Assembly and everyone of these items has an importance of its own which we cannot afford to ignore or lose sight of.

In this situation it is highly politic—nay vital to the very existence of our work—that controversial questions should not take up our time and that the whole energy of the country and the attention of the workers are concentrated on these construction problems of national life.

I feel sure that all these thoughts which have been claiming my very earnest and anxious consideration and attention are today present in the mind of everyone of you. And I pray to God that everyone of my countrymen assembled in Cocanada would have a sympathetic mind with mine and this my message would be received and acted upon in the spirit in which I am sending it.

May God crown your efforts with success and glory. This is my humble prayer. Let it be the hearty prayer of you all. Amen."

TINNEVELLY FLOODS.

DOWNPOUR OF RAIN FOR 36 HOURS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

MADRAS, Dec. 24.

The Collector of Tinnevelly in his telegraphic report about the floods in Tinnevelly says that there has been unprecedented rains for 36 hours since the morning of 17th and numerous tanks have breached and portions of Tinnevelly and Palamcottah are under water which is now receding. No information has yet been received from other parts of the district. Probably there is much material damage but no great loss of life.

FATE OF "DIXMUDE."

LONDON, Dec. 24.

With the crew which is now stated to be 51, the airship "Dixmude" seems at present to have disappeared. Messages from Tunis via Paris state the "Dixmude" is no longer in sight from its landing ground at Medenin near the Gulf of Gabes. No replies are being obtained from wireless or flares. It is feared that the airship may be out of control as the Commander yesterday signalled that petrol was running out and several of the crew were ill. Another report says the airship has been damaged and is drifting towards the sea in a violent gale.—Reuter.

MORE LIGHT ON INDIAN PRISONS.

TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

GOVERNMENT EXPLANATION CRITICISED.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—I read the reply sent to your esteemed paper by the jail officials in reference to my letter of November 14 with not a little interest. I am glad that both the Superintendent and the Inspector General of Prisons have admitted that political prisoners are kept with the worst criminals.

Complaint 1. (a) But whilst admitting the fact, the Superintendent and the I. G. have passed certain remarks which cannot go unchallenged. The Superintendent remarks; "It is obvious that "politicals prisoners' who are frequently agitators have ordinarily to be kept as far as possible apart from other prisoners." I quite understand his difficulties they are so many—and naturally. It is only recently that the jail administration has to cope with politicals in large numbers. Until recently, they had to deal with criminals whom they understood how to deal with. But now they have a different class of persons whom the Superintendent styles as "agitators." Do they agitate in jails, and what for? Some of them ask for the Jail Manual. If the Jail officials act according to the Jail Manual, I for my part cannot understand why they should refuse this book to the politicals, leave aside the ordinary criminals. It will give the prisoners an idea of their rights as well as responsibilities. A police Superintendent can have no justification for not giving facilities to the accused for getting a copy of the I.P.C. But the politicals cannot get the jail manual. The jail officials preserve this book as a person would a philosopher's stone.

And so when the politicals feel in their interest or that of the criminals a certain course of conduct of the jail officials to be inhuman or regularly brutal, they are dubbed agitators, and "they have ordinarily to be kept as far as possible, apart from other prisoners."

(b) "It is clearly undesirable that they should all be housed together in one barrack." The Y. C. P. Jail staff is mostly recruited from the military, and it retains very queer notions about a solid action from the politicals. Some time back, the Mulshi prisoners refused food or work, I forget which, on account of certain grievances. The Superintendent remarked in their history tickets, "Mutiny, refusing food (?)" The Sikhs insisted on getting two new *kachcheras* (short pants) which they said was their right sanctioned from the time of their hunger-strike some six months back. The Superintendent entered in their history-tickets, "Conspiring refusing to take one new *kachcera*."

Really, for persons of such a mentality the politicals cannot "all be housed in a barrack."

(c) "And the only alternative is to keep them in cells which, however, are closed only during the night." Apparently, this remark carries an insinuation with it. Does the Superintendent mean by this that the politicals have got access to each other in the same barrack during day time when they are not locked? The rules regarding barracks are very strict. No prisoner is expected to leave his cell and go *to* a neighbour's cell, mind you not *in* a neighbour's cell in the same barrack. I was locked up for nearly 22 hours daily for 2 months continually, because I had the audacity not to comply with such rules and went and chatted with my political friends. The Superintendent asked me to give an undertaking not to wander about the yard, not only of the other barracks, but even of my own barrack, which I stoutly refused to give. I am told that no prisoner can be continually locked up for more than 14 days. But I was locked up continually for 2 months from February 14, to April 14.

I have gone through this long argument merely to indicate that keeping open the whole day does not mean that the politicals are given permission to have free access to each other in the same barrack which holds about 4 politicals.

The second part of the sentence is more funny. "To keep them in cells which, however, are closed only during the night.."

What does the Superintendent mean by night only? In the jail, the night is longer than the day the whole year round. It commences at 5 p.m. and gives way to-day at 6, 6-30 or even later. To mention that we are locked in for the night only is thus positively misleading.

(d) "All the cells in Yeravda are in one corner of the pail, and, it is, therefore, unavoidable that political prisoners should be in the midst of the worst criminals." This statement is merely a half truth. If the jail officials really want to put the politicals away from the criminals, they can really do so. There are the separate Barracks Nos. 1, 2, 3, which can accommodate 30 politicals each getting a cell to himself. If they are less in number, 1 or 2 barracks might be utilised.

(e.) "As things are at present, "political prisoners" would rather sleep in cells than in ordinary jail barracks." This remark merely strengthens my case. After having admitted that the politicals are kept amidst confirmed criminals and sympathising with them, if the Superintendent says that the politicals prefer these cells to the jail barracks, we can understand what a state of things must be prevailing in these barracks, so as to force the politicals to prefer the foulest moral atmosphere of the separate and solitary cells to the barracks in the circle. This statement of the Superintendent speaks volumes about the cells as well as the barracks.

2. The answer to this complaint seems to have been written by the new Superintendent who was hardly a week old as the Superintendent of Y. C. P. when I left the jail. In view of the remarks of the I. G. I was right when I said in my last letter to you, "that on account of some inspiration received from higher quarters" we were separated. I trust that the Superintendent will communicate to the politicals that they can be next door neighbours.

As regards the remarks of the I. G., I will only mention that there was no direct action whatever in Y. C. P. at least from October to January when we were separated. I am talking now of the non-violent non-cooperators. To put the politicals amidst the worst criminals, because in Ahmedabad Jail in 1922, the politicals sent an "organised petition" shows the utter lack of proportion of some of these officials. But I have narrated above their ideas of mutiny and conspiracy.

3. Complaint as to clothing. "Supply of extra clothing is already under consideration." How long will it take for the authorities to consider this point should not puzzle our minds.

4. Compaint re-barber. As to the Superintendent's not receiving any complaint, I do not blame him for that. He was hardly a week at Yeravda when I left it. And even in that short period, he met in the separate one of the politicals who was in Andamans for a number of years with the present Superintendent of the Y. C. P. Recognising him as an old acquaintance, he asked "you have grown a beard?" The latter replied, "yes, shaving is here troublesome." I am sure, he must have forgotten this incident in the rush of his taking over the charge and the duties that generally fall to the lot of a new Superintendent.

"It is not the Indian custom to use soap as a lather for shaving." I need not consider the authority of a British jail Superintendent to speak on Indian customs. Is everything done in Indian jails *a' l' inddienne*. Do Hindus young and old put on short pants in India?

If the shaving apparatus of the jail and the convict-barber were all they ought to be, I believe the former Superintendent of the Y. C. P. would not have allowed the politicals to use their own shaving materials, which were withdrawn some months back because of a mysterious order from unknown quarters. I cannot resist the temptation of mentioning here an instance. The Superintendent was taking his weekly parade. Coming towards me, he told my neighbour, a Mussalman criminal, that he would not be allowed to grow more than 4 inches beard. The man startled saying, uncovering his head, obviously irrelevantly "Saheb, look at my head. They shave as if they cut grass in the field, look at the marks." I was standing close to him and heard the whole talk.

Remarks of the I. G.—"These men are not backward in asking for anything. So, if soaps for shaving was required, they could have asked for it and the Superintendent would have allowed it." Many Sikh politicals asked for soap because they felt scratching sensation in their long hair. They asked for soap, stating that soap-nuts ('Arithas') took a long time to wash the head and did not work effectively. They were supplied with *kerosene* the next day as a disinfectant for the hair! The public can judge from this incident how tempting it is to ask for things in jail. Of course, I expect the reply from the quarters concerned "This is untrue," "improbable.," "absurd," "no corroboration." For their further information, I may mention that this incident took place in the month of March last.

I am glad to know that soap would be allowed to those who ask for it. "Besides they had their own soap for washing". Not all politicals are supplied with soap for washing. The razor leaves much to be desired. My query as to whether the European criminals have a special razor is not replied to. Besides the razor is applied to all criminals, ective of the diseases they suffer from. The razor is an instrument manufactured in the *steel works* of the jail.

5. (a) Complaint that vegetables are bad and blacken teeth etc. The contradictions will be read by all those who are out by now from Y. C. P. with great amusement. May I know what vegetables are served during the greater part of the year? The reply requires only a minor change, put 'occasionally' where there is 'generally' and vice versa. I have seen tears of indignation standing in the eyes of a political, as he threw away the nasty stuff.

(b) As regards blackening of teeth, it had become a matter of joke with us in the jail. I know once Mr. Jairamdas regularly brought a looking glass to make me convince that my teeth looked awfully black because of the vegetables, I had then devoured. And once the colour was so striking, that one of the aged politicals actually asked me to send for the doctor and make him see the result of the nasty thing he had passed as vegetables. I did not send for the doctor because these things are considered trifles in jail. One day an aged political complained to the doctor, a fresh importation from the Thana Jail, that he was suffering from cold. The doctor's prescription deserves to be made a patent. "Stand in the Sun." was the reply.

(c) Re. Chapatis are 'excellent.' May I ask how many politicals have not suffered from diarrhoea or dysentery in the jail. In October last year I sent a worm from the Mug Dal that was served to me to the jailor. The reply which the paid warder brought was ,"It must have fallen from the leaves of the tree in the jail." And my instance that a live centepede was found out in the bread of Mr. Shwaib Qureshi in the Ahmedabad jail is not at all answered. More than once Mr. Jairamdas drew the attention of the Superintendent to the vegetables.

As regards the Superintendent's statement that very few complaints are received I think it may be due to the reticence which the prisoners would feel before making complaints to a new Superintendent or the futility of speaking to any Superintendent at all, for there are matters in jail which cannot be improved by drawing the attention of the Superintendent, or, perhaps, during the new Superintendent's regime matters might have improved.

Remarks of the I. G. about food:—"The mortality rate of the Bombay Jail Department was 14.5 in 1922 which speaks for itself." In stating this, the I. G. has ignored many side-issues. I shall only mention here one of them. The high death rate in India is due much to infant mortality. I believe, the I. G. has not to fear much from this in his jails. To prove from the low death rate of the jails that they are better off, is to ignore other facts.

"Not many, if any of these prisoners suffered in health during their period in prison." I will merely ask how many politicals have not suffered from diarrhoea or dysentery. And further, I have seen politicals who do not complain to the doctor about their ailments; for to be in hospital is to be in an enviable position, and the doctor puts question which give the impression that he is trying to find out whether the ailment is genuine or pretended.

(d.) As to the remark, "If they had, the whole world would have heard about it", I ignore the statement altogether in view of the plan of burying *Mahatmajee alive*.

6. Complaint as to insufficient privacy in latrines. I cannot do better than quote from my letter which was published in your issue of November 14. "A number of privies are separated from each other by a thin corrugated sheet hardly 4ft. high. After attending to nature's call, one has to walk to a different place about 4 to 5 yards and mount nearly 4 rungs of a staircase, for the other function of washing". There is no door to the privies. Not one of my facts here is contested. To say that the latrines afford all reasonable privacy is, I believe, the height of unreason. As regards the moral grounds, the Ahmedabad jail has got latrines which have got doors to them. I was in condemned cells there, as also in the separate. My attention had never been drawn to the latrines being used for un-moral purposes.

7. Complaint. Re. the need of providing standing platforms. "The utensils are used by night only, and standing platforms are not necessary." I have mentioned above that the night has got *the least* 13 hours to its credit in the jail all the year long. Really, the statement of the Superintendent that such platforms are not necessary is simply starting. To defoecate whilst the pots are ½ and 1½ ft. high is simply shocking. Even beasts are allowed to relieve themselves in a natural position. In the Ahmedabad prison the matter was placed before the Quartely Committee who saw the reasonableness of the demand and sanctioned a sort of commode or wooden platforms to rest the feet on whilst defoecating. In the Y.C.P. one has to regularly perform an acrobatic feat to relieve himself. You rightly put in your editorial, "Our Prisons" of Nov. 14, that conditions are obtaining in Indian jails for which an English Jail Superintendent would go and hang himself." In India, matters are quite the opposite. Instead of remedying the evil, we have the Superintendent of the Y.C.P. justifying both the open "privies" as well as platformless cell receptacle.

8. Complaint Re. Phenyle in pots.

As, in India the system of keeping urine receptacles at night in one's room is not in vogue, I do not know what that means. May I venture to ask whether the mouth of such receptacles is more than 1½ ft in diameter as in jails, and is uncovered If that be the case, which I doubt very much, India need not copy those civilised millions of the world. And, secondly, the statement "that water prevents the offensive smell for a few hours in the night", I might again mention that night in jail consists of more than 13 hours. If water could serve the purpose of phenyle, why was phenyle used all these years. Is the Government too generous with the prisoners?

9. Complaint Re. light. "The cost would be prohibitive." I never mentioned that light should be provided to each prisoner. In the Ahmedabad jail, the Quarterly Com- tee which consists of officials sanctioned mp-posts lamps should be affixed before each barrack to 'dilute the darkness'. This was pointed out to the Committee by the politicals. Two or three such lamps before each barrack of 11 cells would serve the purpose. In all about 30 lamps would be required to light the separate and the solitary. "But the cost would be prohibitive." This at a time when the civilians want better prospects!

10. Complaint Re. snakes: This complaint is not 'silly' at all. Mr. Jairamdas once brought this fact to the notice of the Superintendent that there was a dread of snakts at night when the prisoners were locked up. The statement was not at all challenged by the Superintendent.

11. Complaint Re. Magistrate's refusal to hear petition from a Sikh prisoner. The I.G.'S remark really tickles one's sense of humour. It is not only improbable, but absurd." I was suffering from scrofula in the jail. The Superintendent advised me to take cod liver oil. I would not take it because I am a vegetarian. Once the I.G. turned up. The jailor who accompanied the I.G. informed him of the state of things. "It is an offence" remarked the I.G. Could there be a greater absurdity than this? I might further mention for his information that there are more absurd things in the British Government of India than the world dreams of. Fortunately, many of us, have come to realise what they are.

12. My Complaint regarding a "civilian pot and a civilian plate" has not been replied to. Was it perhaps beneath their notice?—Yours etc.,

J. P. BHANSALI.

PARSI RAJKEEYA SABHA AND MILL-WORKERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—Whatever Mr. Barjorji Framji Bharucha writes is always interesting reading. The letter he has written about the Mill-hands' meeting held under the auspices of the P. R. Sabha in your Friday's issue is worth some attention as it lays bare the inner workings of the typical Non-Cooperation mind. The English Puritans, according to Macaulay, are stated to have hated bear-baiting not because it gave pain to the bear but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. Our modern non-cooperation puritan Mr. Bharucha would not memorialize or cooperate with Government even if such memorialising and cooperation were on account of very acute grievances. I put it to Mr. Bharucha, suppose on his way he found say, a notorious moderate or loyalist with his leg crushed under a motor-car, would Mr. Bharucha refrain from puristic non-cooperation motives to take him to the nearest Government dispensary? Or would he drive the bleeding victim all the way to the more distant National Medical College? Surely Mr. Bharucha's humanitarian impulse for which he is so well-known in the city would prevail upon his curious non-cooperation compunction and he would not hesitate to make use of a Government institution in a matter of urgent importance. The resolution passed at the meeting to memorialize the Governorate may offend the non-cooperation orthodoxy of the P. R. Sabha, but that was the only thing to do in the circumstances. However much we may like to forget the fact, it was due to the late Governor's intervention that one of the worst mill-strikes in Bombay was averted. The mill-owners are not Non-Cooperators and there is ample precedent to prove that a generous gesture from the Head of Government modifies them sooner than any amount of agitation by the public, or by the mill-hands themselves. The late Mr. Rahimtoolah Currimbhoy had the hardihood to fall foul of even a selfless friend of labour of the late Sir N. Chandavarkar's position. He and his ilk listened only to Sir George Lloyd and not let it be remembered to the stentorian cries of Baptista Kaka in mass meetings. Mr. Bharucha may dislike leading deputations to the Governor; as a sincere Non-Cooperator he is welcome to have his own ideas about Labour questions and the method of dealing with them, but experience in the past plainly shows that in fighting the mill bureaucracy, it is best to enlist the aid of the administrative head of the Presidency.—Yours, etc.,

B. M ANANDA RAO.

Khar Road.
Bandra, Dec. 22

CONSOLIDATE DELHI'S WORK.

Mr. S. R. Bomanji has sent the following telegram to Maulana Mahomed Ali, President Elect, Indian National Congress:—

Regret am undergoing treatment which prevents me from attending Congress. But shall be with you in spirit. My stay in foreign countries has convinced me that the whole world is watching the Indian National Congress. The success of our cause is entirely in our hands if only we knew how to avoid exploitation of India by the so-called civilised world. We have to make it clear that the whole of India is united and that we cannot afford to have our national demand delayed or postponed. We must, therefore, sink minor differences which are inevitable in every society and arrive at a firm determination to win Swaraj. We must show to the world as the fact is that we are applying non-co-operation with a view to obtain our liberty either within the Council or outside the Council chambers. Temperamental differences draw different people to different fields of activity only let us not forget that all these are different divisions of the same army marching on to the same goal. I trust under your guidance the work of conciliation and peace begun at Delhi will be consolidated at Cocanada.

The Rt Hon Srinivasa Sastri, and Messrs L. A Govindaraghava Iyer and G A. Natesan and others left Madras for Poona to attend the Liberal Federation.

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PASSING TOPICS.

THE CALIPH'S POSITION.

GENERAL HARINGTON'S BLUNDERS.

A VISION OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

BY ARTHUR FIELD.

LONDON, Dec. 6.

As far back as February 1922 the report of the Commercial Secretary to the British High Commission, Constantinople, ran: "There is no doubt as regards Anatolia that, given internal peace and a stable Government, people would be prepared to invest money in the exploitation of its rich resources even where before the war the risk was great. The solvency of the country, however, is bound up with the Anatolian question. Turkey has a heavy bill of expenses to pay, and this is growing larger each day with the continual Allied occupation; and, until both this country and Russia are once more at peace, it is not likely that this market will afford much attraction for foreign trade."

We may safely say that at the end of 1923 all the desired conditions have been secured. Internal and external peace have been attained in Anatolia. A stable Government has been established there, which is now the sole authority throughout Turkey. The solvency of the country is assured. A special article in the "Times" of August 21, 1923, contained the following passage: "The Turks are deservedly proud of two features—the recovery of Anatolia and the State of their finances. Nothwithstanding the fact that all men of military age are under arms, revenue and expenditure have been balanced, and their currency has not been rebased by the simple expedient of the printing press. The Turkish pound has only depreciated to one-seventh of its value, so is not far behind Belgium or France, and is ahead of most other European countries."

THE ALLIED OCCUPATION.

Finally, the Allied occupation is at an end, and that drain upon the future resources of the Turkish State is delimited. The heavy bill that Turkey has paid and must hereafter pay for her defeat in the Great War has been revised very drastically, and the future appears practicable and not impossible to Turkish statesmen and people. The country has large undeveloped assets. Both Turkey and Russia are at last at peace. May we not safely claim that all the conditions for trade with Turkey are now attained?

Nevertheless, the old campaign of misrepresentation and unfriendliness is being started again. The Diplomatic (?) Correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" gets in too short swift jabs,—one declaring that the Turks are trying to raise loans in London and Paris and that both efforts are hopeless. The next is that the taking over of all postal work by the Turkish post office results in the robbery of remittances from registered letters.

This sort of evil talk, coupled with the references to the abolition of the abominable Capitulations as a loss of British safeguards in Turkey, is a poor preliminary to the "good friendship" which official stereotypes pretend to advocate and desire.

THE "HORRIBLE TURK."

Despite the peace treaty with Turkey, and the assumed resolve to cultivate friendly relations with Turks and Muslims in general, we still witness periodical revivals of the old libellous and vindictive spirit towards the non-Christian peoples. Mr. Herbert Bryan sends me a notice, in the stage journal "The Era," of a newplay called "The Blue Flare." The scene is laid in an attic in "the Hungarian town of Kaschnitz," inhabited by Abdul Karoum. He is depicted as a Turk, a member of "the revolutionary council," and a blood thirsty punisher of aristocrats. For this work he is nicknamed "The Butcher." An ingeneous but quite impossible door is installed in the Butcher Turk's attic. It "swings on a pivot, so that if need be he can go out at one side without being noticed which an unwelcome visitor comes in at the other." This more resembles a room at police headquarters than a private apartment in Hungary.

Abdul is not an ordinary revolutionary. Being a Turk, he must be depicted as a double—crosser, a sneak, and a profligate. He plots to deprive his fellow "councillors" of their "revolutionary booty." He awaits his "passports to Roumania," a very docile act for a doughty revolter. These papers he has applied for in the name of "Karoum and wife" (not "and harem," which shows some restraint on the part of the playwright); yet Karoum is really unmarried. "Although a lusty bachelor, he desires to take with him Julie Derogyr," a most derogatory proceeding. She is "the one creature he loves—the one creature who loves him." This monogamous villainy is a refreshing change from the older sort of lies. But Michael Dvorak (not the composer, but a commissioner of licenses) "spots the irregularity," and we don't think he has to be very clever to do so. The revolutionary council objects, and palms off a princess, who is not wanted, to be Mrs. Eloping Karoum. Thence issues a hide-and-seek game with death for the horrible Turk. Mr. Randle Ayrton piles on the necessary horrors as "Abdul." It is almost like old times, but we miss the slave market, the bastinado, the courting and the bloodstained Bosphorus. Still, Mr. Earl Carroll, the dramatist, has done his damnedest in the cause of international amity and understanding.

A "RASCALLY COMRADE."

"The Stage" prints another version of this precious production. That journal refers laughingly to its probability and environment, but it seems to think the picture of a "Turk" is quite all right. It says:—

"In the Hungarian town of Kaschnitz the revolutionists are in power, and one of them, a Michael Dvorak, is endeavouring to get a Roumanian princess, Stephanie, across the frontier into Roumania. When he proposes to a rascally revolutionary 'comrade,' a Turk named Abdul Karoum, that Stephanie shall go with him (Abdul) across the frontier, and be described as his wife for passport purposes only, the fat is in the fire. The Turk is an utter scoundrel, as are also his two dupes, Ujvar and Dedo, and, together, they contrive that the Turk and the Princess shall be married in reality! This little scheme is frustrated by Michael, who is always in the nick of time to save the Princess."

The Turk is shot dead by the hair-trigger hero, but we seem to think he was additionally roasted to death in a bricked-up stove. Or was it the hero? He deserved it quite as much."

CALIPH'S POSITION.

No confirmation has been received of the attitude assumed by Fethe Bey, "Speaker" of the Turkish Parliament, towards the opinions of Muslims outside of Turkey. He was, it will be remembered, alleged to have said that "the Turkish Republic has absolutely nothing to do with other Muslims; and we cannot surrender this right, which is directly our own, to anyone else."

It is a very good thing that such disastrous expressions are not supported, and it is greatly to be hoped that they were never uttered. It is beyond dispute that the entire Islamic world is concerned in the question of the Caliphath; and it is equally indisputable that all Muslims everywhere, provided they admit the validity of the Caliphate of the House of Ottoman, have a right to discuss and assist the appointment and sustenance of the Caliph. His Excellency is reported to have said that the "Caliphate is inseparable from the Turkish Republic and derives its support therefrom." If the Muslim world were quite sure of both these statements, it would be much less uneasy than it is at the moment. He is also declared to have said that rumours about the Caliph are confined to Contantinople. Rumours of resignation, and all that sort of thing, are an inevitable result of the fears and uncertainties created by the situation. Angora probably knows its own mind and its own policy; but as these can only be guessed at by Constantinople, it is natural that rumour should take a hold on the late metropolis.

Among those who are expressing doubts and fears about the present provision for the dignity and prerogatives of the Caliphate, I have found none who desire to hamper or harass the Republic. I have been much struck by the generous way in which convinced monarchists, imperialists and conservatives have bowed to the proclamation of a Turkish Republic; and confined all their observations and enquiries to the position of the Caliphate under the new order of the Turkish State.

SIR CHARLES HARINGTON.

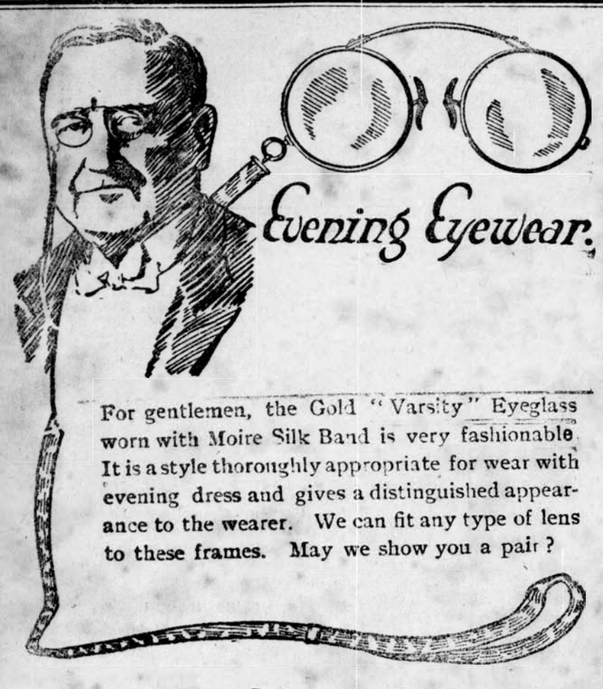
As if to answer my contention in a previous letter, Sir Charles Harington has been taking up the question. If the British were so highly successful over Mudania and subsequently, how is it that we have failed to attain our objectives, while the Turks have gained theirs. General Harington's latest piece of blundering talk is to the effect that the Turks have gained what they schemed for, but that they are utterly unfit to govern!

I think there is little more required to prove the correctness of my opinion that friends of the Turks should give a wide berth to British militarists. It may be said, in returns, that men like Sir Charles Harington and Sir Ian Hamilton are friends of peace and enemies of militarism. Sir Charles certainly talks of a desire for peace with the Turks, and we will never forget that he kept the peace at Mudania. But he has again been "shooting off his jaw," as our transatlantic friends say, in a way most prejudicial to good relations with Turkey. In a tour of the four residential buildings ridiculously entitled "Toc H Houses" in London, Sir Charles said: "The Turk is the best Judge in the world of honesty—in others." This will be recognised as a repetition of what he said of a previous occasion; indeed General Harington, far from being "the strong silent man," seems addicted to talking, and to repeating anything he thinks rather good. His prediction, that Britons and Turks are going to be good friends again is not likely to be realised by such phrases and expressions, nor by the "superior" spirit which inspires them. Doubtless we are going to be friends, all right; but not as in the past, when we were bound by military considerations and supercilliously referred to the "poor old Turks." That day is past, and for ever.

MUTUAL ADMISSIONS.

"Travel broadens the mind" is one of the old platitudes which are continually receiving brilliant illustration. A Soviet author has visited England with—it is sad—a Soviet commission to secure an entente of Russian and English writers and artists against Britain's anti-Soviet policy. "Instead of which" he has written an admiring article on England and her institutions, including the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the rich farming class. On the other hand Miss Francisca Wilson, of the Friends' Famine Relief Mission in Samara, is one of those English intelligentsia who speak of the Russian peasants as feeling the "tight hand of the rulers of their country. She declares that Bolshevik officials inherit the traditions of their Tsarist predecessors so far as honesty goes. She says the peasants tell of wicked

(Continued on next page.



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THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

(Continued from page 6.)

ing, there is sufficient unity in India to entitle us to call ourselves a nation and claim the privileges of nationhood. But even granting that we are not a nation yet, it is sufficient for our purposes that all the peoples inhabiting India have a genuine desire to become a nation, and aim at the full status and privileges of of nationhood. Of this desire and this aim there can be no doubt.

Swaraj—A Common Aspiration

All the different religious communities of India, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, Jains, Buddhists, all parties of the Indian politicians, Moderates, extremists, Non-co-operators and revolutionaries, all classes of the Indian people, land lords, and tenants, capitalists and workmen, Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, are agreed on the desirability and necessity of building themselves up into a united nation and achieving 'Swarajya.' They may differ, and do differ as to methods, as to the pace of progress in that direction, as to the means of achieving that end, but there is no difference as to the aim and object. Even the Anglo-Indians agree with the Nationalists on this point. National unity is one of the basic objects of the Indian National Congress. Both the Moderates and the Non-co-operators are pledged to it, though the former did precious little to achieve it. The Non-co-operators have laid great emphasis on this part of their programme, and however much for enemies may ridicule the statement that Hindu-Muslim unity has been achieved, there is no doubt that considerable success has attended our efforts in that line within the last two years.

Hindu-Muslim Problem—Creation of British Raj.

The Hindu-Muslim problem is a creation of the British Raj. In the Hindu period of India's long and eventful history, there were no Muslims in this country, and consequently there could be no such problem. In the Muslim period, too, the problem did not exist. The fact of the ruling dynasty being Muslim, did give an advantage to the Muslims over the Hindus, a circumstance in which the latter had to acquiesce. The bane of Muslim rule in India was not so much the tyranny over Hindus, as the existence of a state of nevercessing war; yet there were periods of Muslim rule in which the country was prosperous and flourishing. There were few reigns only in which the Hindus were discriminated against or prosecuted *as such*. With English Rule in India, came the Hindu-Muslim problem. Now it is extending. The problem of India is no more a Hindu-Muslim problem. It is becoming Hindu Muslim Christian-Sikh-Parsi-Buddhist-Jain problem. Never before were communal consciousness so keen, so assertive, nay so aggressive as within the last fifty years of British rule. The reasons are obvious. British rule has created, fostered and nourished it. The genius of European civilization has encouraged it. Education in European ideals and standards first gave birth to that intense individualism which 'teaches every one for himself.' Unsatisfied individual ambition plus patriotic bias plus religious nationalism plus economic needs did the rest. Communal rivalry between Hindus and Muslims for Government favours was first brought into existence by Lord Dufferin and Sir Aucland Colvin. The little spark which was then kindled as an effective counter-move against the Indian National Congress, and as an antidote against growing Indian Nationhood, has since then been fed by different agencies, in different ways and with different motives. It has now grown into a flame which is less of a danger to Indian Nationhood than to British domination of Asia. The British are a very queer people. They have a reputation for being unimaginative, and are rather proud of their Imperialistic instincts. Crooked Imperialism, however, always lands its votaries into awkward positions. The present loyalty of the class conscious Muslim has now taken a different turn From check to the Indian Nationalist, from a hindrance in the way of Indian Nationhood, from a clog in the wheels of the Indian National Congress, it has developed into an ally of the former and an asset of very high value for the latter. The British have just Knighted a Muslim poet than whom no one has done more to fire the ambition of the class conscious Muslim to regain their lost political dominance in Asia. Similar is the result of British policy towards the Sikhs. The Akali movement is a natural child of Imperial crookedness. This is, however, by the way. The important fact to be noted is that in spite of this communal consciousness being just now at its Nth. point, the desire for National Unity and for political freedom has grown with it *pari pasu*, and within the last five years has burst out into a blazing fire threatening discomfiture and destruction to all those who stand in the way of its progress. It is remarkable that while the communal consciousness of the different religious communities forming the Indian Nation is being fed and fostered by all methods open to human ingeniousness, nothing avails against the growth of the idea of common Nationhood

Message & Leadership of the Mahatma.

The rapidity with which the latter is gaining strength both extensively and intensively, is simply marvellous. Several circumstances have combined to bring about this result, not the least noticeable of which is the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. While the Moderates have been making frantic efforts to get Under-Secretaryship, Governorships, Executive Councillorships and Ministerships, the Non-cooperators, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, have been busy in fostering and spreading the idea of Nationhood. Thousands of tongues of flesh and thousands of pens have delivered the message of national unity, national solidarity and national independence—political, economic and cutural—at every home and hearth in the length and breadth of this ancient land. I firmly believe that there is hardly a cottage in India (unless it be in parts inhabited by the aborigines) where the name and fame of Mahatma Gandhi has not reached and where his message has not been delivered. I have received many evidences of this. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that whatever may be said of the failure of the Non-cooperation movement to achieve Swarajya within one year, its success in fostering and spreading the idea of Nationhood, in creating an intense desire for national freedom and in creating a collective will to achieve this by our own effort has been simply monumental. The first phase of the movement was over with the Bardoli resolutions and the subsequent imprisonment of Mahatmaji. Now that we have gone through the first fire, and, to my mind, successfully, without injuring much of our body and soul, it behoves us to examine the situation calmly and dispassionately, take a stock of our losses and gains, and chalk out a programme for future work with intelligence born of experience and reflection, and with determination born of conviction (of the righteousness of our cause) and of the recollection of sufferings suffered for it.

PASSING TOPICS.

(Continued from previous page.)

things done in the part by the Communists; how landlords were murdered,—that peasants had animals and grain taken away, and that Communists can come to no good because they do not believe in God.

Yet from the lips of this hostile witness comes this testimony:—"If you ask them if they would like things to be as they were before, or if they aren't going to make an effort to change the Government they dislike, they only sigh and shake their heads. "We don't want the landlords back again." Now the land is free. . . When a few good harvests have restored their fortunes, and they can purchase animals, then life will look different to them. Their passionate desire will be attained,—the land will be theirs. Already they receive as much as they can cultivate—they are not afraid of deception on this score." Other admissions of Miss Wilson are almost startling to the "man in the street," who believes that the functions of Communists are to "kill off everybody and rob everything." She says that the Bolshevik official element, which is a sort of steel frame inside all the Soviets (Councils), is considerably more energetic than the old officialdom. "Perhaps it is this energy which inspires the peasants with awe. . . . Now there is no terror, and the requisitions have ceased. The Government rests neither on bluff nor terror as our papers would have us believe; or on the hearts of the people, as the Bolsheviks themselves would like to think. It rests on force, of course; but most of all on the fact that there is nothing to replace it."

"With religion the Bolsheviks interfere very little. The priests go about their religious duties unmolested, the churches have never been fuller than they are now, and the Saints' days are kept as public holidays. . . Altogether it is remarkable that religious toleration is so great. One has only to recall for instance the iconoclasm of the Reformation. . to be astonished at the mildness of the methods of the Bolsheviks."

LIBERALISM, INDIAN AND ENGLISH.

A *Chronicle* leader, criticising the Indian Liberal party's servile political methods, says that anyone suggesting another policy was cried down as an advocate of revolution or anarchy. It is remarkable that a similar protest appears in an American magazine. Mr. Arthur S. Hoffman, writing of the United States, says: "It's got so bad in this county that every movement of the people to organise among themselves is looked upon as Bolshevistic and dangerous, unless they organise along 'conservative' lines and for the suppression of the very freedom they should advocate." A Liberalism which is based on reptile qualities of that sort must be destroyed, and it will be destroyed. The article is, however, (if I may be allowed to express an English view), mistaken in setting up a distinction between Indian and English Liberalism. The leader says: "The Liberalism for which the Party stood was a caricature of the high principles connoted by the word in the English language." The connotation of Liberalism in England can be easily guessed in view of the sacred union of Messrs. Asquith and Lloyd George. It is, however, not merely a decadence of to-day. In the Boer War period, Lloyd George and a section of the Party entirely opposed that war, while Asquith and the Liberal League regarded it as a proper though badly conducted war. The union of two such forces is an outward proof of the opportunism of the party. The critics and opponents of George's vindictive and bloodstained war politics are now hand-in-glove with him. The connotation of the united Liberalism of England is that of the Grey machinations for war alliances and war preparations,—and the Asquith assurance that there were no understandings committing England to war in certain events. The connotation of English Liberalism is the Gladstonian anti-Turk, anti-Muslim, pro-Tsarist Christian fanaticism. The truly Liberal policy endorsed Versailles and Sevres, excused Amritsar and denounced Gandhi; defends capitalism, landlordism and plutocracy; be friends Greek and Spanish adventurers and flirts with Fascism. If forced a murderous travesty of Government on Irish delegates with a threat of "terrible war." If from the ashes of the Indian Liberal party a new party should arise resembling the English, its last state will be worse than its first. In fact, our feeling in England is one of disheartened dismay that Indian youths can be found in such a political mausoleum as the National Liberal Club.

PURITY OF PARLIAMENTARISM.

An obvious "fake" has been run during the parliamentary elections, alleging "Communist rowdyism at election meetings. In Mr. Saklatvala's constituency, the Liberal opponent "cancelled all meetings as a protest against the roadyism." The real facts are that this Liberal candidate could not face heckless and opponents, and found it best to abandon meetings altogether. He nominated substitutes to go to debates and take up the work of public oratory,—and this substitute has given an unsolicited testimonial to Mr. Saklatvala for the courteous and fair reception accorded to him. In the other Battersea constituency, Viscount Curzon has resorted to every trick to bring discredit on his Labour opponent. Misstatements of fact on the eve of the polls have been met and countered: but on the night before the election came out a masterly bit of Tory cant. He had cancelled all women's meetings owing to "Red threats against the Women." Not in his own constituency, it seems, but somewhere else. Of course no Red's have made any such threats, but the game will serve to dupe a few electors. "Save our Women" worked well for Johannesburg and for India,—why shouldn't it turn the trick against the "Communists." All the Labour candidates are genially grouped as "Communists." This does a struggling movement secure a huge advertisement.

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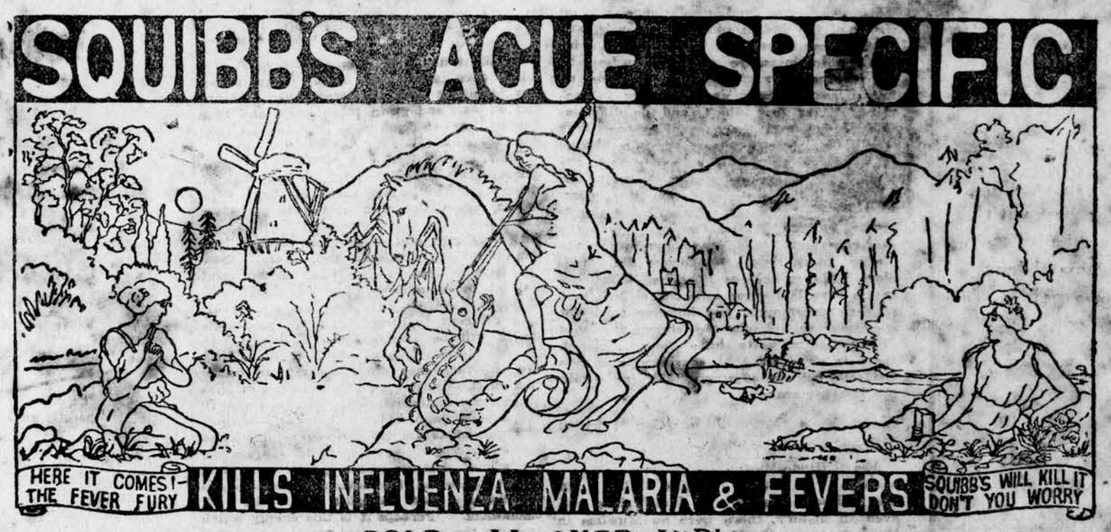

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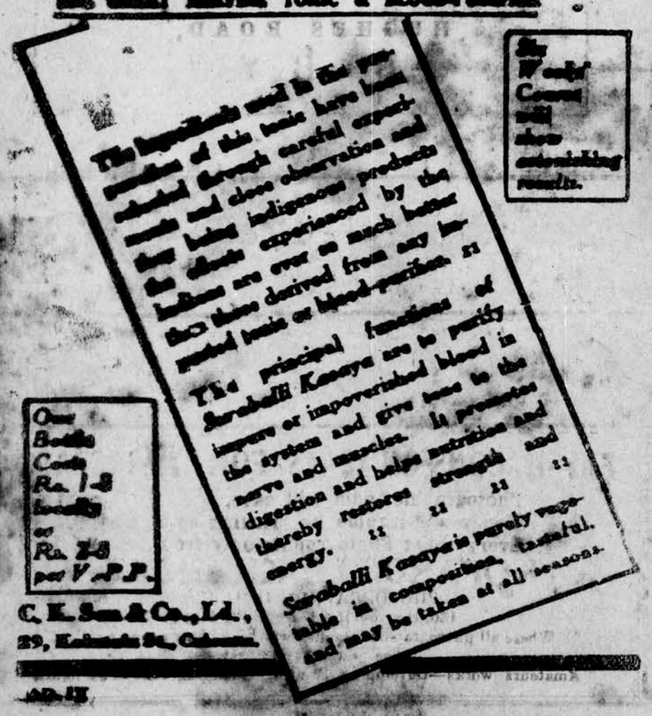
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